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THE
COORG TRIBES
AND
CASTES

THE
COORG TRIBES
AND
CASTES

(WITH 27 ILLUSTRATIONS)

BY

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With a Foreword

BY

R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E.,
OXFORD.

GORDON PRESS
MADRAS
1948

FIRST PUBLISHED, JULY, 1948.

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Printed at the Gordon Press, Triplicane, Madras, and published by
L. K. B. Ratnam, Residency Road, Thycad, Trivandrum.

TO
MY FATHER

FOREWORD

IT is now nearly 50 years since Sir Herbert Risley inaugurated the systematic Ethnographic Survey of India, on the completion of the 1901 Census.

Like the banyan tree, this original conception has thrown out many sturdy shoots since then, such as the late Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer's *Mysore Tribes and Castes* (4 volumes); and recently we have much useful information in works devoted to a single tribal study containing a wealth of useful detailed information. Examples of these are C von Furer-Haimendorf's *Chenchus* and *Reddis*, and Verrier Elwin's well-known works.

The following pages are devoted to a summary of information concerning the little known tribes and castes of Coorḡ, a remote area in the Western Ghats, some 60 by 40 sq. miles in extent with a population of about a quarter of a million in all. The Coorḡs themselves, numbering about a fifth of the whole, whose origin is hidden in the past, are clearly of mixed descent, being the offspring of marriage between some earlier ruling race and the children of the soil. Various mythical stories to account for their ancestry are given in this volume; but they remain one of the unsolved puzzles of ethnography. In numbers the only section of the population of Coorḡ of any importance are the Coorḡs and the Yeravas, together one-third of the whole. The Holeyas, the Kurubas, the Bants and the Gaudas come next in numerical precedence. A few Vokkaligas and Hebbades are found as also some Mussalman immigrants (Mapilas) and a handful of Brahmans, who seem to be held in little consideration among these primitive people.

An account of the social divisions, occupation and ceremonies at birth, marriage and death will be found in the following pages. It is of special interest to note that not only the primitive Yeravas and Holeyas but somewhat unexpectedly, the Coorḡs themselves and the Gaudas are devoted to ancestor worship. They furnish an important confirmation of the late Sir James Campbell's theory, developed in his *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*.

Ancestors are reported to be regularly fed and propitiated. Untoward events such as sickness, etc., are attributed to their displeasure, which can be allayed by offerings of food accompanied by various ceremonies.

Among evilly disposed spirits of this nature is found the formidable *ajja*, specially feared by the Kurubas. It may be recalled that, in the criminal case quoted in the introduction to the folklore of Bombay, a poor girl was beaten to death in the hope of driving *ajja* from her disease stricken body—an incident that occurred in the Southern Deccan.

The isolation of these hill people on the spurs of the Western Ghats has in the past saved them from the Hinduizing process that is noticeable among so large a portion of the early tribes in India. There is, however, some indication of the influence of Lingayatism among sections of the population; and the Coorḡs themselves have a pseudo-Brahman section known as Amma Coorḡs, who are endogamous, wear the sacred thread, and perform priestly functions.

It is noticeable that the well-known tribe of Bants, of whom a full account can be found in Edgar Thurston's *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*, are only represented in Coorḡ by a few thousand; but their social organization of exogamous clans based on some kind of totemistic worship is remarkable for the fact that the children take the mother's totem in contrast to the more general practice of male succession. Instances of these special Bant divisions are the tiger, the rat, the domestic fowl, the scorpion and, in vegetation, *Nux vomica*, and the *Artocarpus integrifolia*. Thus this little work is a valuable link in the chain connecting primitive tribes in all parts of India. The author is to be congratulated on the fruits of his research, now made available to the steadily widening circle of Indian ethnological studies.

Vale House, Wootton, }
Oxford.

R. E. ENTHOVEN

PREFACE

THOUGH anthropology is still widely thought of as dealing with the cultures of other peoples, but not with our own, its practical importance to national life is now claiming greater recognition. A vigorous science, without doubt, it gives us an insight into the different modes of life of our people, the functioning of political, economic, religious and other institutions, how external factors influence the community and the latter reacts, the change in customs and the extent to which new methods and procedures are adopted.

There are more than 25 million aboriginals in India and the honour goes to the late Sir Herbert Risley for having inaugurated, in 1902, the anthropological survey of the country. Almost all the Provinces and States, in pursuance of the scheme evolved by him, issued monographs containing valuable information on the manners and customs of the different tribes and castes.

Coorḡ, a remote area in the Western Ghats, with a quarter of a million population, however, remained for long a virgin field for research. The present work embodies for the first time the results of a general survey among the little known tribes and castes of this area. The idea of conducting a general survey, like this, before selecting a single tribe or community for intensive study is somewhat new in anthropology. It not only makes the community chosen for detailed study more meaningful as a sample of the area, but it places the community in cultural perspective. The objectives and methods of the present study are, however, purely scientific and the results made available in this volume will be helpful to administrators to understand the social and cultural phenomena with which they must deal.

My interest in the subject was aroused by the notes and other materials left by my father Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. Though much of this matter had been used here, it has been revised in the light of my own study.

My aim has been to make the book as widely useful as possible by presenting in simple language cultural descriptions and analyses that will constitute valuable data and provide a stimulus for more intensive study

The work has been made possible by the co-operation of several scholars both in India and abroad. My sincere thanks are due to Mr. R. E. Enthoven, author of the *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, who has written the *Foreword* to the present work and done much to further anthropological studies in India. Portions of this work have already appeared in *Mysindia*, Bangalore, *Modern Review*, Calcutta, and the *Indian Geographical Journal*, Madras. I am obliged to Prof. Lideo Cipriani of the Florence University for some of the photographs illustrating the volume and to Mr. Devendra Nath Hosali, Editor of the *Mysindia* for the loan of the blocks of those photographs which were used to illustrate my articles.

I am much indebted to Dr. George Kuriyan, Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Madras, for his friendly and whole-hearted co-operation in making the work available to the public and to my son Mr. L. K. Bala Ratnam for his able assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

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June, 1948.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER.

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COORG TRIBES AND CASTES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

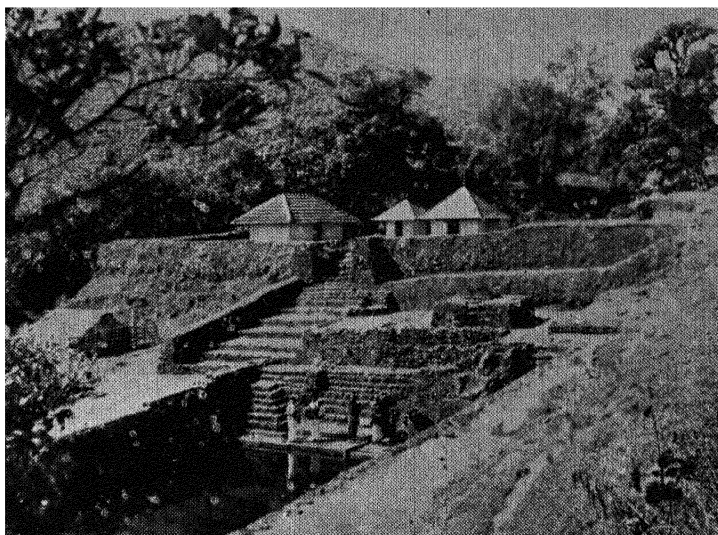
COORG is a small British Province perched on the slopes of the Western Ghats. It has an area of about 1,593 square miles of which the reserved forests occupy about 519 square miles. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hassan and Mysore districts; and on the south and west by the Malabar and South Canara districts of the Madras Presidency. It is an extremely hilly country and is situated on the summits and slopes of the Western Ghats. Its maximum length is about 60 miles from north to south, and maximum breadth about 60 miles east to west. The name of Coorǵ is an anglicized corruption of the word *Kodaǵu*. It is said to be derived from the Canarese term *Kodaǵu* meaning 'steep' or 'hilly'. The people are called *Kodaǵas*. In the Coorǵ language, the country is *Kodaǵu* and the people *Kodavas*.

Natural Features—Mountains and Their Formations

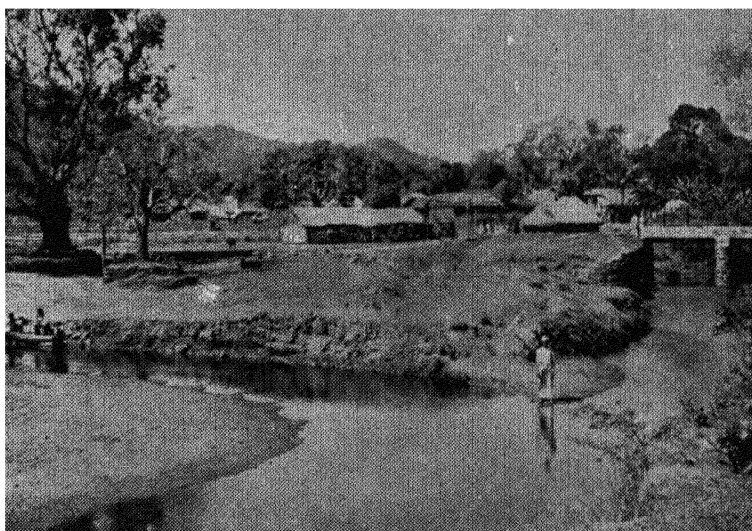
The main range of the Western Ghats extends from Subramania in the north-west to the western point of the Brahmaǵiri in the south for a distance of over 60 miles. From this backbone several long and elongated ridges branch off from east to west. The grand mountain mass of Subramania runs to a height of 5,625 feet above sea level. Among the many

ridges branching off from this part of the Ghats, the most remarkable is the one which attains the greatest height in the double peaked Kotebetta (5,375 ft.) situated 9 miles north of Mercara. Near Mercara the Benġunad Range starts west of the Ghats forming an acute angle with them. At this point is Brahmaġiri, the source of the Cauvery river, and north of it is the Sampaji valley through which descends the road to Mangalore on the west coast. Continuing on the line of the Ghats which runs south-east from here, the most important peaks are the well-wooded Tumbemala, Iġġutappa, Devarabetta, Tadiandamol (5,729 ft.), and Somamala. Some distance to the south is the Periambadi ghat road to Cannanore and Tellicherry on the west coast. In the extreme south-west is the Marenad Range with the great lateral range of the Brahmaġiris, which form the southern boundary of the country, separating it from Wynad. The highest peak in this range is Devasibetta (4,500 ft.) which towers up from a beautiful plateau called Huyašemale. Many spurs from the Brahmaġiris branch off over the whole of Kiġġatnad, producing a ramification of narrow ridged hills, some ascending in almost solitary grandeur like Ambatebetta near Virarajendrapet, Bittanġala, and Kundadabetta, others subsiding into the undulating slopes of the eastern elevations, enclosing innumerable rice fields, some of which are the most extensive in Coorġ. The Benġunad Range also extends eastwards in two ridges south of Mercara, One culminates in the pointed peak of Nurokkalbetta, the other takes a zigzag line towards Fraserpet, its highest point being Kallurbetta, clothed with teak forests. From Kotebetta northwards runs the Santhalli hills, terminating in the bluff Mukribetta. From the northern frontier a range runs south to the Cauvery, in which are the fine conical peak of Malambi (4,468 ft.) and the Kanaġalu hill.

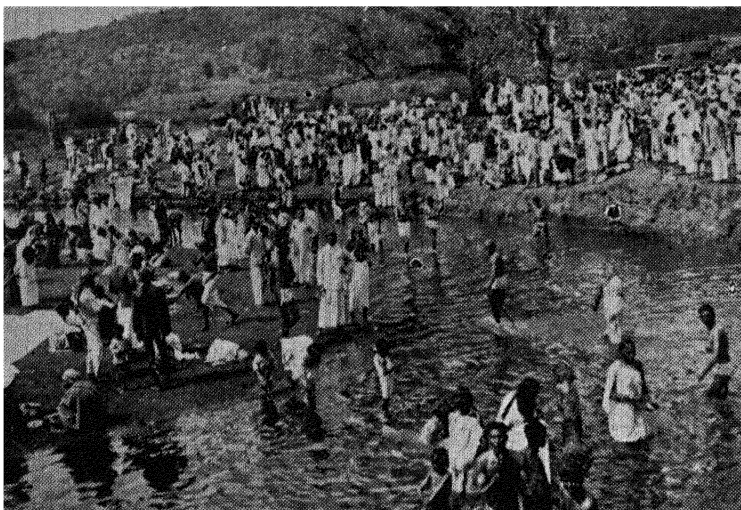
Coorġ was primarily well wooded, and although a vast tract was cleared for coffee cultivation, it still conveys this impression, when one has a general view of it from the summit of a hill. In many parts of Coorġ (South) impenetrable everġreen forests and bamboo jungles have a luxuriant growth. Towards the east and north, the country varies from the park-like tracts of Yelusarasime to the bare grass hills of Yedavanad and the thick deciduous jungle that fringes the Cauvery. The sandal tree is found in abundance in the north-eastern parts. On a bright November morning, an observer from the heights of Brahmaġiri is in rapturous delight at the picturesque view that opens out before him. Ridge after ridge of grassy or forest-clad hills appear, now gently sloping down in wavy lines, now bold and abrupt, now raising their steep summits into the clear blue air. Kudaremukhabetta bursts into view from Canara, the Bettadapur and Chamundi hills in Mysore, the Wynad mountains of Malabar, and even the distant range of the Nilġiris are clearly visible, while in the west at a distance of about 30 miles below



A View of Lalai Cauvery



The junction of the Kanaka and the Cauvery at Bagamandala



Pilgrims at Bagamandala



Pilgrims performing religious rites at Bagamandala

the steep precipices of the Ghats are the coast line of Malabar and South Canara, intersected by broad, bright, serpentine rivers, and beyond, the dark blue Indian Ocean, dotted with sailing craft. The eastern frontier between the Cauvery and Lakshmana rivers exhibits an almost uninterrupted jungle inhabited by the Kurumbar, Lambani, and other wandering tribes.

River Systems

Coorġ is well favoured with rivers and streamlets which give it an abundant and perennial water supply throughout the year except South Coorġ where there is a dearth of it. Though perennial, they are not remarkable for their breadth. Of the rivers that flow eastward, the most important are the following :—

The Barapole, rising in the Brahmaġiris with its tributary the Kallhole descending from the Heġġala pass; the Udormbi, the Yeramakuth, the Cadiamale, and the Mundrotu rivers from the Padinalkanad Raṅġe. The Yertakarti and Nujikal rivers descend from the Pattighat, and the Maringundi river from the Pushpaġiri Raṅġe.

Rivers of the eastern watershed consist of the Cauvery and its tributaries. The Cauvery has its source at Talai Cauvery near Baġamanadala and is the largest and most important river in Coorġ. Its tributaries are the Ramathirtha and the Lakshmanathirtha, both of which rise in South Coorġ and join the Cauvery in the Mysore Province. The Kakkabe, Kadanur, Muttarmudi, and Chickie rivers, all of which assume considerable dimensions during the monsoon, rise in Padinalkanad and Mercara taluks, while the Hatti, Nadapur and Choran rivers from the Haranġai river, and powerful tributaries rise in Nanjarajapatna taluk.

Flora

The flora of Coorġ is typical of the prevailing vegetation throughout the Western Ghats. According to Conner, every species of vegetation attains a high degree of luxuriance, if not rankness, quite foreign in the neighbouring countries. Both flowers and blossoms have a brilliancy and variety unknown in the plains, and many of the wild plants possess a share of aromatic qualities both as to odour and flavour. The all-prevailing forest is distinguished by the people as Male-kadu (evergreen mountain forest), and the Kanave-kadu (deciduous growth at the lower levels of the passes). Arborescent growth at higher elevations varying from 3,500 feet is mostly represented by *Vateria indica*, *Canarium stritcum*, *Calophyllum tomentosum*, *Michelia champaka*, *Polyalthia coffeoides* and others.

Fauna

Elephants range throughout all parts of Coorġ. They frequent the forests towards the eastern frontier. They are not so numerous as before.

Since 1902 systematic arrangements have been made by Government for their capture in pits as in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Bisons frequent the densest forests and highest hills, especially in Marenad and Hormalnad. Bears generally abound in the north-west. Tigers and leopards are also found. Sambur, spotted deer, and barking deer are general in the woods. The most important bird is the hornbill, but there are peacocks, water fowl and jungle-cock, over and above the most ordinary and common Indian birds. Snakes are plentiful and cobra haunt the bamboo forests. There is a large variety of fish. The best fish in size and quality is the plantain fish.

Meteorology and Climate

Coorǵ is a small country, and yet its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, its wood-clad hill slopes and open champaign tracts greatly influence its atmospheric conditions. Still the dry eastern district may present as steady a climate as the moist hilly tract along the Ghats or the Mercara plateau. The hot, rainy and cold seasons have to be distinguished. Throughout the year the atmosphere is humid, and humidity is precipitated either in dense mists or in showers of rain. In July the monsoon reaches its greatest vehemence. The Coorǵ hills send the floods controlled by steep river banks to the east and west and stand forth in renewed beauty. In September the sun breaks through the dense atmosphere. In November the north-east winds carry heavy clouds from the eastern coast which discharge themselves chiefly in the east and south-east of Coorǵ. The greater part of December is foggy, but towards the end of the month the weather becomes delightfully clear and fresh. The annual rainfall at Mercara is 133 inches. On the whole, the influence of the Coorǵ climate with its average temperature of 60° F. is salubrious. The nights are cool throughout the year.

Prehistory

Our knowledge of the prehistory of Coorǵ is very scanty. Prehistoric dolmens or burial cairns are found in Coorǵ as in other parts of South India. The first discovery of them in large numbers was made by Lieut. Mackenzie in 1868 on Bane near Virajpet. Captain Cole followed it up with great enthusiasm and his excavations yielded interesting results. All the cairns found are either level with the ground, or their tops crop just a little out of it. When laid bare, they present a stone chamber 7 ft. x 4 ft. x 5 ft. composed of four upright granite slabs, 7 or 8 inches thick, and a capstone which projects over the uprights. The flooring is likewise of stone. The narrow front slab has an aperture of an irregular curve nearly 2 ft. in diameter broken out from the top and generally faces east. Sometimes a compartment may be two-chambered. These cairns are either

solitary or in groups, in some cases forming regular rows. The relics found in them are peculiarly shaped pottery, buried in the earth that nearly fills the chambers. The vessels contain earth, sand, bones, iron spear-heads and beads. The pottery consists of chatties and urns of burnt clay and is of a lead or black colour. They are smooth and shining and can hardly be said to be glazed. Bones, ashes and bits of charcoal are usually found at the bottom of the urns; grains of ragi have also been found inside the chambers. Beads of red cornelian of a cylindrical shape are occasionally met with in the smaller pottery. The iron implements, spears, and arrow heads are very much corroded so that their shape is hardly distinguishable. These cairns apparently were the resting places of the earthly remains of a generation that existed anterior to the historical records of the present local races. The dolmens are also called pandukuzhies or dwellings of the Pandus by the Coorḡs.

Traditional History

The early history of Coorḡ is based primarily on Puranic legends and surmises covering a period of over ten centuries. The three names, Brahmakshetra, Matsyadesa and Kroda-Desa are applied to Coorḡ. The Puranic account is found in the *Cauvery Mahatmya*. It describes the origin of the Cauvery, and the place from which it arises.

According to *Cauvery Mahatmya*, the Coorḡs are Uḡras by descent, that is the offspring of a Kshatriya father and a Sudra mother. The Kshatriya was a Kadamba prince of the Matsya country and known as Chandravarma. He was very religious by nature, and after a long pilgrimage to holy shrines in the south he came to Brahmagiri and propitiated the goddess Parvati, who bestowed on him a kingdom there and provided him with a Sudra wife by whom he had eleven sons. She also promised to bless the country by appearing in it as the river Cauvery. The sons brought up as Kshatriyas in their turn obtained as wives the three hundred daughters born of Sudra mothers to the king of Vidarba (Berar). Chandravarma having crowned his eldest son Devakanta as successor, took leave of him, predicting that Cauvery would soon appear as the river. These sons had more than a hundred sons each, and they spread themselves all over the country. This tearing up of the ground was like the work of boars, and the country was therefore called Kroda-Desa or boar-country from which arose the name Kodagu.

There is another popular legend which throws some light on the early history of the Coorḡs. In former times there lived in Malabar six brothers and a sister. Five of them accompanied by their sister, Ponnanzalathamma, went to Coorḡ by the Paditoraghat. While they were on the road, four of them said, "How is it that our sister comes with us?"

The people will say that she is our wife." One of them replied, "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to Chouripade hill near the Kakabi river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa asked her (the sister) to prepare some food. She replied that there was neither rice nor fire. Iguttappa said, "I will give you rice, but you must eat it without salt". The brothers agreed to this. Then she saw a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house, and she milked her, allowing the milk to fall into an earthen pot full of rice. While her brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, she went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, when it began to boil. She then summoned her brothers to partake of the rice she had prepared. When they had partaken enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it into the air and exclaimed, "See how the hail is descending from this sky." The sister was incensed at this act. She took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow, and said, "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." The other brothers then laughed at this. While they were sitting together chewing betel, Palurappa said, "Let us see whose betel is reddest." All spat out the betel in their hand, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. Deluded by this act, the sister threw the betel into her mouth and began to chew. They then declared that she had lost her caste. This decision was confirmed by their brother in Malabar to whom they appealed. Their sister felt very sorry and wept very bitterly. Iguttappa then threw an arrow from Iguttappabetta and directed his sister to follow the direction of the arrow and stay where it fell. Assuming the shape of a crane, she flew towards Ponnangala. Some Holeyas were working in paddy fields near Karathandra house. She flew upon one of them who became possessed with the devil and ran towards the tree to which the arrow had stuck. The brothers separated into different villages where they settled down. The whole family was afterwards worshipped as gods. Beyturappa had a temple at Beytur in Malabar. The third has one in Maletambira forest in Chomamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Palur in Kuyangarinad, and the sixth Tirnalli-Timmea at Tirnally in Wynad. A temple was built for Ponnangalatamma round the tree where the arrow struck. At her annual feast in April, she weeps and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is seen sticking to the wild mango tree to this day.

The foregoing traditional accounts go to show that the Coorgs belong to the Ugra race and are the descendants of prince Chandravarma. The first colonists are made out to have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom. Lewis Rice says that it is a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg, and with the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region. There are also other traditions which lend

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kings of Jumcha and Coorḡ were of the same race. It is also observed that the aborigines as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorḡ.

Population

The population of Coorḡ is composed of the following tribes and castes :—

1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeyas
5. Coorḡ
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heḡḡade
9. Vokkaliḡa

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CHAPTER II

YERAVA

THE Yeravas are the aborigines of Wynad from which they gradually migrated to the forests of South Coorǵ. They are now found scattered all over the villages of Ponnampet and Srimanǵala. They are the lowest of the jungle tribes and appear to have been in a servile condition to the Betta Kurubas from remote times. They numbered 12,810 at the Census of 1931, 6,763 being males and 6,047 females.

Praedial Slavery

Praedial slavery in Coorǵ differed only in a few respects from that which flourished in Kerala. Three to five numbers were owned by the proprietor of a small estate. Though they were not treated with severity, the general conditions of their service subjected them to great hardships. They were rarely sold, but were frequently given as security for money borrowed. This was the most general mode of transferring the usufruct, and, above all others, likely to produce the greatest wretchedness. The mortgagee had the benefit of their services for the time being, and this was considered equivalent to the interest for the sum advanced. They are now free.

The praedial servants of the agriculturists were obliged to perform the work of the Sircar. The servants of every ryot were at the disposal of the Sircar, and their service given as a matter of right which was generally admitted. Each cultivator had to supply a certain number in proportion to his means, and the Parputty of the Nad was entrusted with all arrangements for them. Each Nad had to furnish a certain number of labourers for work. The body of labourers thus collected were generally employed at Mercara, where works of some kind or other were constantly undertaken. No compensation was given to the owners of the servant thus employed, nor did they receive any wages. They were fed by the Sircar during the period of work. This system pressed hard on both masters and servants, particularly the latter, who experienced hardship. There were numerous other instances in which labour was supplied to the Government without any remuneration.

Habitations

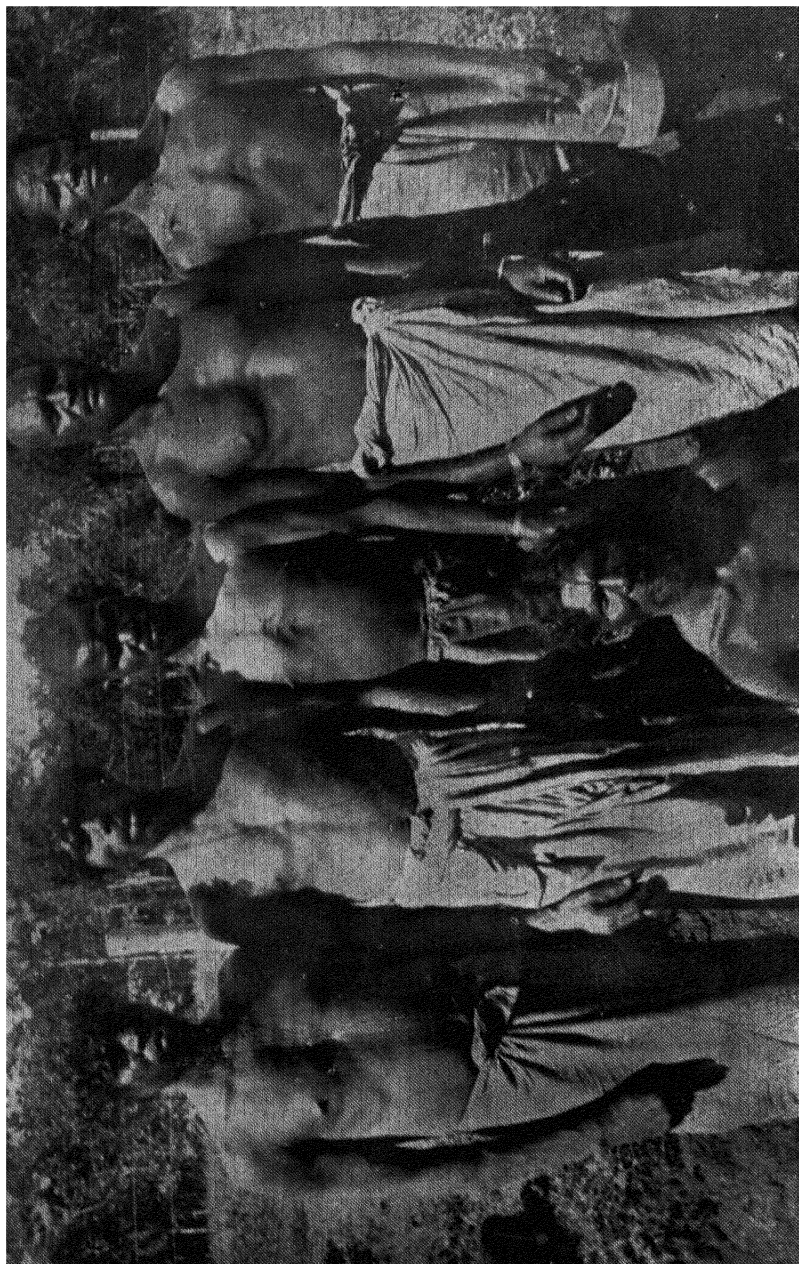
The Yeravas live in thatched huts. The walls are made of bamboo reapers, interwoven and plastered with mud. Their migratory habit prevents them from building houses with mud walls. The huts have



Yerava Female



Yerava Male



Yerava Men

verandah of about 10 feet square. Walls are half-built all round. Their fireplace is on one side, and they have a small pit to pound paddy. Their domestic vessels are mostly earthen pots and dishes. The latter are used for taking food. Before occupying a newly built house, a Yerava worships Kuttathamma and Gulikan with offerings of rice, coconut, toddy, banana and fowl with the prayer, "Oh, Divine Beings, by your grace we have built this hut. Keep watch over us."

Internal Structure

The tribe is composed of four endogamous groups, the Panjiri, the Pania, the Badava, and the Kaji Yeravas. The Panjiri stand highest in the social scale, and the Kaji the lowest, because of their habit of eating crows. The Panjiri Yeravas who came from Mysore are divided into two sub-groups, Ippumale Yeravas and the Karatti Yeravas. The former are said to have immigrated from Ippumale which is situated beyond the Manantoddi river, and are generally found in the Srimangala and Ponnampet nads; and the latter in Parattimale near Bythor. There is no intermarriage between them. The Badava Yeravas, who are also found in Mysore, are mostly found in Coorg. There is neither interdining nor intermarriage between these two classes. The Panias and Panjiris neither interdine nor intermarry. A Panjiri can become a Pania, but not *vice versa*.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister. The Yerava adults have no voice in the choice of a maid for wife. The parents negotiate for the marriage of the sons. When a boy attains marriageable age and a suitable girl is found, the boy's parents and the headman of the tribe (Kanaladi) take the marriage badge, a *sadi*, and the articles necessary for their food to the hut of the bride-elect. They prepare the food, light an oil lamp, and offer sacrifice to the gods Kuttathamma and Gulikan along with coconut and banana. Some rice is also placed in a sieve. The maid's Kanaladi asks them the object of their visit. The young man's Kanaladi says that they have come to propose the marriage of their daughter to the young man, and the maid is produced before them. They then pray to god to help them in the celebration of the marriage. The Kanaladi of the bridegroom-elect ties the tali round the girl's neck, and gives the *sadi* to her with one *hana* (three annas). The parties sit together and partake of the food already cooked. The maid's Kanaladi fixes the date of marriage (*Manḡala kurippu*). The betrothal takes place a month before marriage, to the celebration of which both the Kanaladis should consent. If the bride's party cancels the betrothal, they have to make good the expenditure incurred by the parents of the bridegroom-elect. The bridegroom's party forfeit their claim in case the fault is with them.

On an auspicious day prior to the celebration of the marriage, the relatives of the bride and bridegroom assemble in the respective families. Chapras are erected with ten or twelve poles in front of the huts of both the bride and the bridegroom. Pigs and fowls are slaughtered. Ancestors are worshipped. Parties assembled are treated to a feast. The night is spent merrily by beat of drum and the tuning of pipes for dancing. On the day of marriage, the young man is bathed, neatly dressed and adorned, and is conducted to the marriage in procession. He is seated on a tripod a foot high. A lamp is lit before them. His mother and other married women throw rice on him as a token of blessings and present him with a few annas. Then follow others after which the assembled guests are treated to a feast. In the evening, the bridegroom's party start in procession to the bride's hut so as to reach it before day-break. They halt near the residence of the bride-elect, when they are welcomed by the bride's party with light refreshments and toddy. They are conducted to the marriage booth in front of the hut of the bride-elect. As the bridegroom-elect enters the booth, an elderly woman washes his feet. He is then seated on a tripod. The gods of both the parties are propitiated with parched rice, coconut and bananas. The bridegroom and bride are then made to stand together and the gods are invoked to witness the ceremony and bless them, when the assembled guests throw rice on them and give them presents varying from three pies to three annas. The Kanaladi then asks the bridegroom to grasp the hand of the bride. The guests are then treated to a feast, after which the bridegroom and his party return to his hut with the bride. Just then the bride's mother or some other elderly woman stands near the gate, when the bridegroom gives her eight annas and requests her permission to take the girl. The same formalities are gone through in the family of the bridegroom. The bride touches the feet of every one as a sign of obedience and respect to the elderly members, who make some presents of coins to her. The Kanaladi comes on the fourth day. The bride is bathed and dressed and adorned in her best. She performs the Gangapuja and brings water to the hut in a few pots. She is then dressed in a new sadi. After a sumptuous meal, the guests disperse. There is no special ceremony for consummation which takes place in the bridegroom's hut after his return with the bride. The married couple again go to the bride's family, stay there for a few days, and then return to the hut of the husband. Thereafter, they live as husband and wife. It may be stated that the joining of hands is, according to Malinowski, a ceremonial pre-representation of the actual union in marriage, assisting the union by making it safe and making it previously, and, as it were, objectively.

Elopement

When the parents are not in a position to defray the cost of the marriage ceremony, they tacitly connive at the young man's approaches to

the girl, who elopes with him one day and they remain in the jungle for a few days. The girl returns to her hut, but is not allowed to enter it. Her parents place the matter before the villagers who assemble to enquire into it. The Kanaladi comes. The couple confess their guilt, and pay a fine of a rupee or two, when they are condoned. The tali-tying takes place and they become husband and wife. These formalities cost five rupees, while the marriage ceremony costs twenty-five rupees.

A man can have more than one wife. The first wife has no special privileges. Concubinage is also allowed.

Widow Marriage

Widow marriage is in vogue among them. On the day fixed for the marriage ceremony, the man goes to her hut with friends and relations, invokes his gods for blessings, and ties a tali round her neck, and gives her three annas. Thereafter they become husband and wife.

Adultery and Divorce

When a woman commits adultery and when that is known, the elders meet to enquire into the matter. When the guilt is established, the culprit is made to pay a fine of one to ten rupees. Sometimes he is compelled to marry her after payment of the marriage expenses for which he is responsible. A man can divorce his wife at his will and pleasure, when he simply takes her to her parents and says that he does not want her. Sometimes the husband in a fit of anger sends her out of the house saying that he does not want her and that she is free to go anywhere.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a woman attains pregnancy, her parents visit her during the seventh month, give her sweets and stay with her for a day or two. They then take her to their hut. When she is about to become a mother, she shifts to a temporary hut put up for the purpose, and an elderly woman of the family, usually her mother, acts as her nurse. Soon after delivery, the mother and the baby are bathed in warm water, and this is continued during the period of pollution. Soon after delivery, she is given a decoction of cumin seeds, ginger and asafoetida, and fed with rice kanji. The pollution is for 11 days. She bathes on the twelfth, when the naming, feeding and cradling formalities are gone through. She continues to be in a state of pollution for a period of forty days.

Adoption

In the absence of children, a man can adopt a boy below twelve years of age. The Kanaladi comes. The boy is dressed in new cloth. The gods are worshipped with offerings of rice puddings, coconuts and bananas. The Kanaladi holds the boy's hands and says that henceforth he is the son,

May the gods who are invoked bear witness. He hands over the boy to the man.

Daily Life

The Yeravas hardly own any land. Every adult member of a family works and earns his bread ordinarily. They live by the sweat of their labour and never think of the morrow. They want everything fresh. Both husband and wife work and get food and earn paddy as wages. They bring the paddy and the woman hulls as much paddy as the family requires for the night meal. The husband will sit near the fire or in the moonlight during the dry weather beating his drum and singing. The boys and girls dance, the women joining the party at times. At the time of harvest and on full moon days, the drumming and dancing last throughout the night. They use no lamp in the hut. Often a Yerava feels reluctant to work and forgets his master. He will quietly walk with his wife into the jungle in search of honey, fruits, roots or fish. Generally the wife cooks food, but the husband may join her occasionally.

Social Organization

The villagers meet once a year to offer prayers and sacrifice to ancestor-spirits. The meeting continues for three days. Every family brings rice, coconut, toddy etc. First they enquire into cases of adultery, divorce, elopement if any. The Kanaladi presides over such meetings and gives his decisions. The deities and ancestor-spirits are propitiated with rice puddings, coconuts, toddy and fowl. The Kanaladi performs the rites, sings songs in praise of the sanity and powers of the tribal deities, Kut-tathamma, Guligan and Kuttichathan, and the dead heroes, who have done great deeds such as killing tigers, driving away demons and other spirits. They then eat and make merry. The Yeravas have their own pipes and drums, and bring as many sets as they can afford. Young men, women and children join together and dance in a circle to the tune of the pipes and beating of drums. This continues day and night. It is on this occasion that women and grown-up girls are enticed by men. They quietly slip away at night and seek their abode in the jungle for some days or go away to distant villages, where they live as husband and wife. Those who escape into the forest return in a day or two. The Kanaladi fines them, and compensates the husband of the woman by payment of a few rupees. If the fine is not paid, the culprits will be expelled. Nobody dares to go against the judgment of the Kanaladi. His post is hereditary.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are generally buried. The dead body is washed and covered with a new cloth. It is then covered with earth. Some rice and milk, or if milk is not available, coconut water is poured into the pit.

Some rice and water are also placed close by. On the eighth or tenth day, the funeral ceremony is performed. They call it *kaka pili* (*bali*) and keep food for the crows. The hut is smeared with cowdung. All bathe. Food, meat and toddy are offered to the ancestor-spirits. The *Kanaladi* calls upon the god and the sun to give a good place to the spirit of the dead, and protect the living members of the family. The closest relations keep the offerings outside the hut for the departed spirit. If crows do not eat it at once, the members of the family think that there has been something wrong, and also infer that gods and ancestor-spirits are angry with them. Often they perform the ceremony again on another day. It is said that women are buried in a sitting posture in a hole scooped out of a grave.

Religion

The Yerava gods are *Kuttathamma* and *Kali* who are believed to reside in a place near *Kutta*, a small town between *Coor̥* and *Malabar*. *Chamundi* and *Cauvery* are their chief deities. The general form of worship is as follows :—The headman keeps rice, coconut, etc. in a neat place, lights a lamp, and stands before it, facing the sun, and prays to god, requesting him to grant what the worshippers want. They keep no image, but plant a rough stone under a tree to represent *Gulikan*. At *Kutta*, their chief goddess *Karingali* or *Kuttathamma* is represented by a stone. They offer toddy, and a fowl or two with prayers when they worship. They worship the water-goddess (*Gan̥a*) during marriage ceremonies. They observe all the *Coor̥* festivals and those of the high caste Hindus. They do not worship rocks or trees, but plant rough stones under a tree to represent their gods and demons. The fields are believed by them to be haunted by devils for which they offer sacrifice. The *Kanaladi* comes to *Kutta* during the *Karingali* festival. He is the supreme authority on all religious disputes. They also worship Mother Earth, the river *Cauvery*, *Lakshmithirtha* and other springs.

Sorcery and Witchcraft

The Yeravas believe in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. The *Kanaladi* or one deputed by him becomes possessed of spirits, and gives information of the past. They believe in the potency of the evil eye. All kinds of disease are brought about by evil spirits to obviate which talismans, enchanted threads, and certain beads are worn by them. In practising sorcery, the sorcerer draws the picture of a demon with rice powder, and to make it appear frightful, he puts powders, coloured red and black, here and there, and lights a lamp. Bamboo sticks about a cubit long are sharpened at one end and clean cloth is tied round it, dipped in oil and lit. Beaten rice and other articles are kept on plantain leaves on one side. The sick man is made to sit before the leaves. The sorcerer with coloured water in his hand begins to utter his incantation and finally kills

a fowl after sprinkling it with water. In case of exorcism with dance, the sick man is made to sit in the centre and is decorated with flowers and kumkum. The sorcerer and his men beat their drums and dance round the man singing peculiar songs. Sometimes the sick man is beaten with a cane, if he is believed to have been possessed by a spirit.

He then runs and the sorcerer takes him to a tank or river, and makes him dive and come out. He gives him new cloths to wear. The spirit is then supposed to have left him.

Occupation

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Yeravas. They have no lands of their own, but work for wages. They have auspicious days for ploughing, sowing, transplanting and reaping. They know which rain will be beneficial for each crop, and some forestall the year's crop by the commencement of the rains. They perform no ceremonies either at the beginning or at the end of the agricultural operations. Like other agricultural tribes, they worship their implements, bullocks and the like.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments

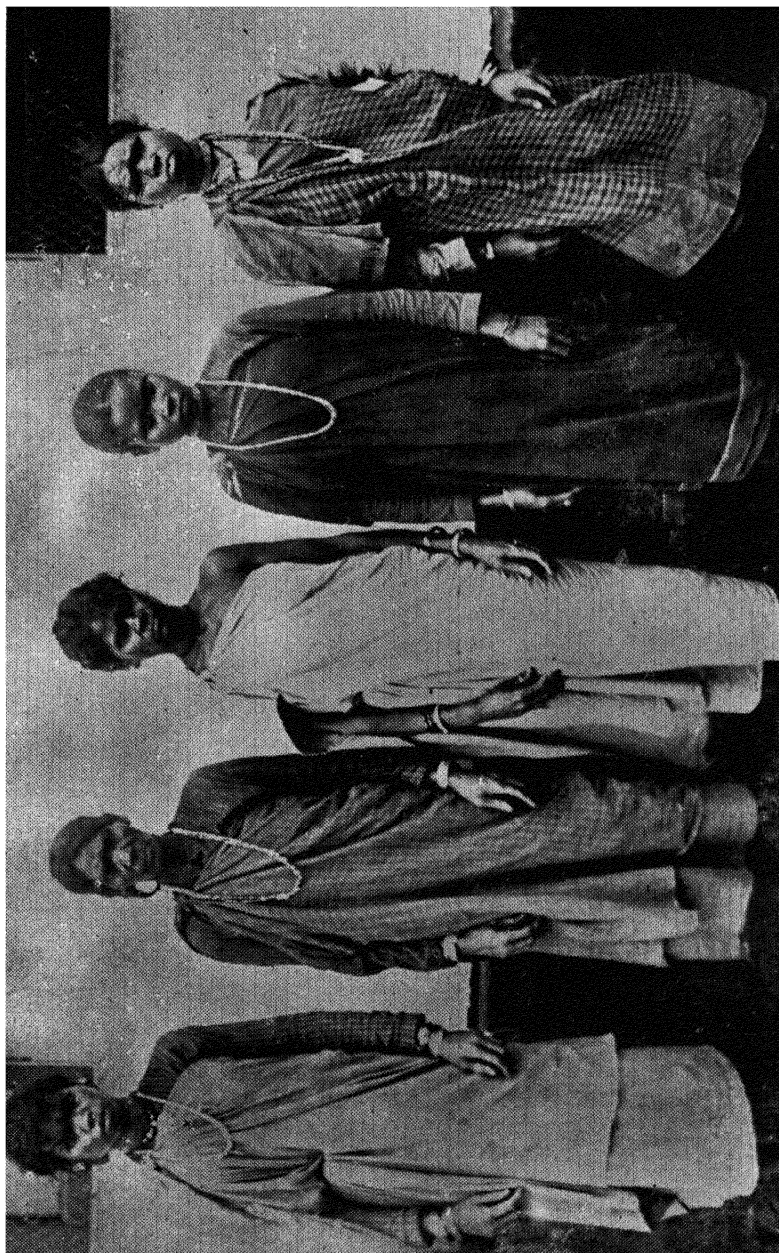
The Yeravas are short in stature, very dark in complexion, and have curly hair much softened by combing. The hair is tied into a knot at the top of the head, which gives them a wild and savage aspect. They have thick lips and flat noses, though both the features are being effaced. Their garments consist of a loin-cloth and they wear no headwear, unlike the Muthuvans of Travancore. Their whole appearance has an air of wretchedness.

Conclusion

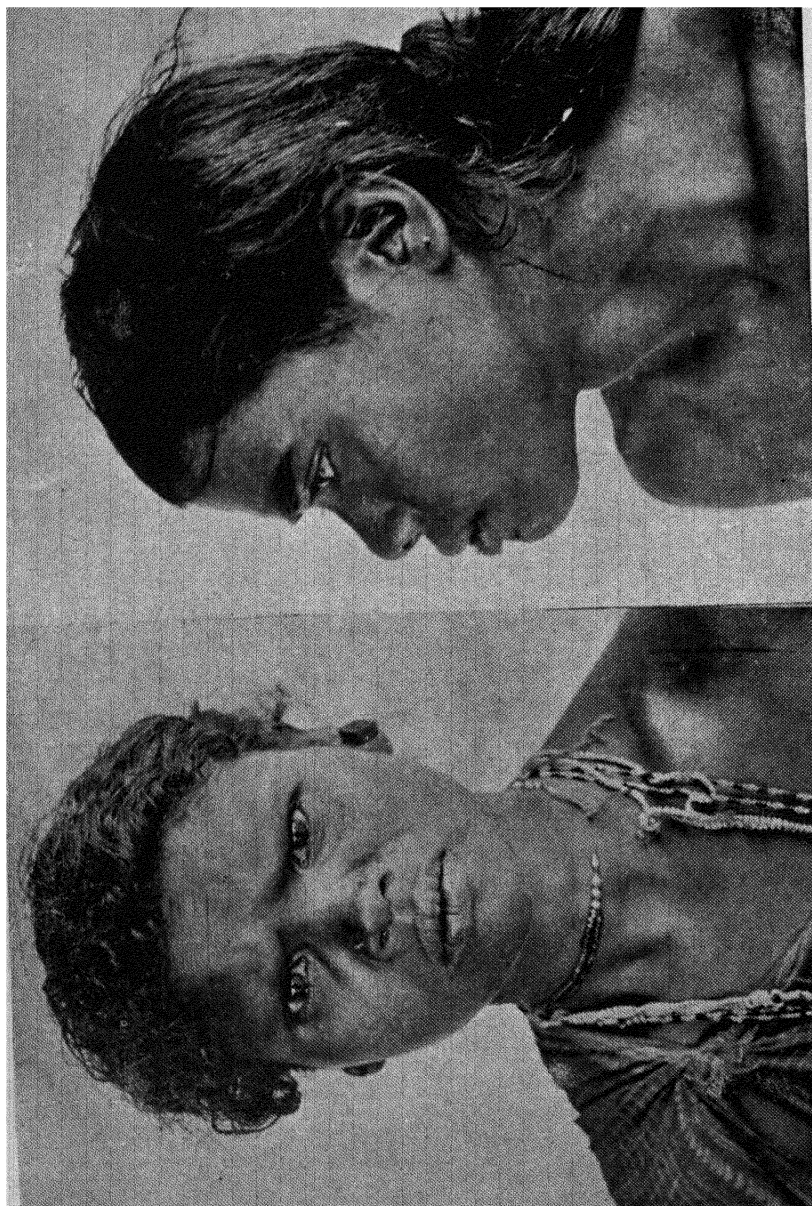
The Yeravas have much improved of late. Both men and women work hard, and are in great demand in coffee estates. Contact with estate coolies has vitiated their simple habits. They are now turning unreliable. They often decamp from their huts in the jungle and travel with kin unobserved in one night beyond the reach of the pursuer. They go to Wynad, and on return find new masters with hardly any chance of discovery especially when employed in Coorg houses during the working season. They conform as much as possible to the mode of life and worship of the Coorgs.

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Yerrava Women



Jenu Kuruba Male

Jenu Kuruba Female

CHAPTER III

KURUBA (JENU)

THE Kurubas are found scattered in Ponampet, Srimangala, Kutta and Somvarpet taluks of Coorġ. They are closely connected with those found in the forests of Mysore and the Nilġiris. Consequent on geographical isolation, there is no intercourse between them, nor are they connected with the Kurubas who live in the open country in mixed villages in Mysore and tend cattle. The name 'Jenu' means honey in Canarese. They numbered 6,867 at the Census of 1931, 3,710 being males and 3,157 females.

Habitations

The Jenu Kurubas have no settled habitations, but wander about in search of honey. Their villages are clusters of huts calls *hadi*. There is a separate hut to serve as dormitory for the unmarried females to sleep at night, and another for the unmarried males. Both are under the supervision of the headman. The huts are made of bamboo and reed.

Internal Structure

The Jenu Kurubas are divided into two endogamous groups, the Jenu Kurubas and Betta Kurubas. There is neither interdining nor intermarriage between them.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A Jenu Kuruba marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. Marriage takes place after a girl attains puberty. The boy's party goes to the girl's hut with betel leaves, coconut and bananas to settle the marriage. The girl's party welcomes them. After settling the terms of the agreement, the date of marriage is fixed up. The former pay a *hana* to the girl's party and take leave of them.

There are two forms of marriage among them. One is similar to that of the Vokkaligār. The marriage booth is constructed with twelve poles on an auspicious day. The friends and relations who are invited are treated to a feast. The ancestor-worship also takes place the same day. On the following day, the bridegroom is bathed, neatly dressed, and led in procession to the marriage booth, where he is seated on a tripod. Rice is thrown on his head and a dose of milk is given him by his mother, and other married women, and each presents him with a *hana* or two. The members of the family and the assembled guests are well fed. The bridegroom and party then start in procession to the hut of the bride-elect, and

stop at a distance therefrom, where they are welcomed by the bride's party who feed them with light refreshments. They are then conducted to the hut of the bride-elect in procession. The bridegroom's feet are washed by some woman of the household, for which she receives some coin. The bridegroom-elect is then seated in one room and the bride-elect in another. The *dara* ceremony then takes place, after which the bride is tied with a tali (marriage-badge) round her neck. The couple do not eat rice for two days, but are fed with milk and fruits. Only after the removal of the kankana are they allowed to eat rice. They are then allowed to remain in a room and live as husband and wife. The guests are treated to a feast, after which the bridegroom and his party return to his hut with the bride. At the time of departure, he is advised to treat his wife properly. The bride's party who accompany the bride are similarly entertained.

The other form of marriage is the simple one of exchange of betel leaves and arecanuts which concludes the nuptials. The bride-elect is always presented with two wedding costumes and a few necklets of glass beads. The chewing of betel leaves by the couple constitutes the essence of marriage among the Minihisas of Celebes and the Balans.

Polygamy prevails among them. The offspring of concubines are not considered legitimate.

Puberty Customs

When a girl comes of age, she is lodged in a separate shed put up for the occasion by her maternal uncle. She is under seclusion for fifteen days. On the sixteenth day she bathes, when she becomes free from uncleanness.

Social Organization

The Jenu Kurubas have a headman called Ejamanan. He is the arbiter of their disputes. His decision is final.

Funeral Ceremonies

The Jenu Kurubas used to bury their dead. Both burial and cremation now prevail among them as a result of contact with Hinduism. Children and those suffering from disease are burnt, while others are buried. Pollution lasts for twelve days. They feed the spirits of the dead on the twelfth day, when they celebrate a feast for the relatives and others who are present.

Religion

Siddeswara and Basavaswara are the gods whom they worship. They also worship the sun and the moon for whom they build sheds to give offerings on Mondays and Fridays. They also observe the Huttari and Dipavali festivals.

Occupation

The Jenu Kurubas neither own nor cultivate land for themselves nor keep livestock of their own. Their primary occupation is honey gathering for which there are two honey seasons. The chief one is before the rains when they get the hejjanu or rock hive or mountain honey, the combs of which are larger than those on branches. After the rains they gather the kadi honey or last honey, which is inferior in quality and less in quantity. They sell the honey and wax to the Government contractor. They are expert climbers and are fearless in their attempts at plundering the bee-hives. This they do in the dark of night, having first fixed to the honey tree a bamboo whose branches are cut back to serve as a ladder, or they let themselves down over a rock by means of a cane chain.

They are very skilful in the use of the stringed bow to hit birds, and of the net which they always carry round their waist to catch the red squirrel, the grey flying squirrel, and the black monkey. They have an intimate knowledge of the jungle and the habits of animals. They fix a bag-like net with its mouth open on a thick branch in the track of the animals, and, should one enter, its weight pulls down the net which is fastened by a string in such a manner that its noose effectually closes the mouth and the animal is caught.

They also work as labourers on the Coorɔ farms during rice transplanting and harvest times, and get six seers of paddy a day, or take service for the season and get two rupees in cash for the sole season in addition to four seers of paddy per day.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments

The Jenu Kurubas do not tie their hair into a knot, and through carelessness it often gets matted, and gives the head a bulky appearance. The women, who dress like the Canarese Vokkaligas, tie their somewhat curly hair into a knot at the back of the head. They wear brass ornaments, bangles, and necklaces.

Physical Features

The Jenu Kurubas are darker than the Betta Kurubas. Their average stature is 156.5. Their average cephalic index is 76.1. Their average nasal index is 77.8.

Games

In the dry season the Jenu Kurubas have a week of merry making. This feast is a regular saturnalia and the Kurubas dance before the houses

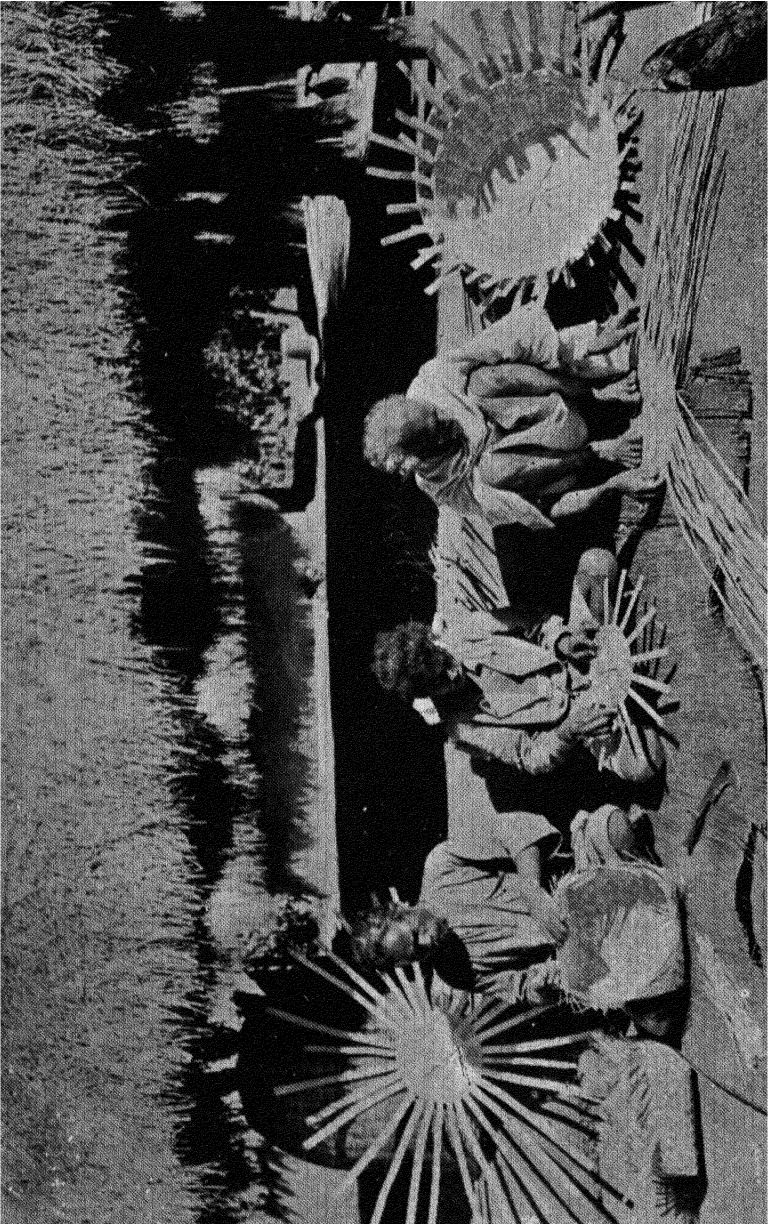
of those whom they consider superior to themselves. In their splendid movements they use small sticks which they strike against each other keeping regular time.

Social Status

The Jenu Kurubas avoid eating food of the Ağasa, Holeyā, Madiğa the Christians and the Mussalmans.



Jenu Kuruba Women



Betta Kuruba Industry

CHAPTER IV

KURUBA (BETTA)

THE Betta Kurubas are found in the hilly tract of Kiggathanad and Edayanalkanad taluks. They are said to have come from Wynad and Malabar, whither they often go back when they have cause to hide away. The word ' betta ' means hill, but when spelt with a *p* signified rattan or cane. Hence the name may point to their occupation. They are skilful cane workers, making mats, baskets, cradles and fishing traps of cane and bamboo.

Origin and Early History

The Kurubas are said to be the modern representatives of the ancient Kurumbas or Pallavas who were once very powerful in South India. Very little trace is left of their former greatness anywhere. In the seventh century A.D., the power of the Pallava kings was at its zenith. It gradually declined owing to the rise of the Konga, Chalukya and Bhola chiefs. The final overthrow of the Kurumba sovereignty was effected by the Chola king Adondi about the seventh or eighth century A.D. This led to the dispersion of the Kurumbas far and wide, and many fled to the hills of Malabar, the Nilgiris, Coorġ, Wynad and Mysore. Thus with the lapse of time they have become wild and uncivilised, and have, owing to their comparative isolation, lost their ancient culture. Both the civilised and the wild Kurumbas must have been identical, but the present difference is the result of geographical distribution and environment. The name Kurumbranad, a taluk of Malabar, still attests their former greatness. They may be regarded as the very oldest inhabitants of the land who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The terms Kurumba and Kuruba were originally identical, though the one form is in different places employed for the other, and has occasionally assumed a special local meaning.

Habitations

The Betta Kurubas are settled in a hamlet of their own and their neat bamboo huts are arranged in a quadrangular form, but leaving the four corners open as passages ; in the centre of the open space stands the Ambala, an open hut which serves the elders for social and ceremonial gatherings. No one is allowed to approach it with leather shoes on. At night all the unmarried boys above five years of age have to sleep here.

Internal Structure

The Betta Kurubas are divided into two sections, the Munpadi and the Yelpadi. The Munpadi means families belonging to three hamlets,

The Yelpadi means families belonging to seven hamlets. Members of the same section do not intermarry.

Marriage Customs

Girls are married after they attain puberty. The marriage ceremonies are simple, sensible, and orderly. A suitable girl is selected by the boy's father who formally asks her parents, and on their agreement he gives a piece of money as a pledge. The wedding day is fixed within a month, when a sumptuous feast is prepared for which plenty of rice, a pig and betel leaves, but no liquor are required. The bridegroom's party go to the bride's hut, eat there, and the parents join the young couple by putting raw rice on their heads. They then return with the bride to the bridegroom's hut, where the bride's party are entertained. This concludes the ceremony.

Neither polygamy nor polyandry is practised. A widow remarries a relative of the deceased husband.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is lodged in a separate seclusion-shed for seven days. She bathes on the eighth day and returns to the house and her usual occupation without further ceremonies.

Childbirth

When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a separate seclusion-shed, and five to ten days after childbirth she bathes and returns home. At the birth of a child, the parents give a feast to their own people. Male children are named Mada, Keta, Choma, Mara and female children, Madi, Mari and so on. The baby is taken to the Ambala, where a string of beads is tied round the child's neck, and the name is pronounced by the father.

Social Organization

The Betta Kurubas have a court of justice of their own. They hold a anchayat composed of elders at the Ambala, and the fine imposed consists of bits of iron which the headman keeps. He is also the hereditary ujari.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are buried, the corpse being placed sideways with the head to the west.

Religion

The Betta Kurubas are demon worshippers, and in three years they usually bring the usual offering of money, fowl, coconut and plantains to Kuttalamma or Karimkali at Kurichi. The eatables are shared between

tha Pujari who is a Vokkaliṣa and the devotee. At the Ambala, the periodical demon possession takes place in the person of the Pujari, or one of the elders who prepares for the occasion. Their principal Bhutas are Ajja and Kuda who are perhaps their dreaded or renowned ancestors. When a possession is to take place, the Pujari bathes and goes to the Ambala accompanied by his people. A couple of women form a chorus, while he dances about and sings, shaking some brass bells in a little basket, and calling out "Come, Ajja". Then suddenly he drops the basket, an indication that the Bhuta has come upon him. In this state of assumed personal unconsciousness, the Bhuta utters words of warning, of advice and prophecy as to sickness or prosperity. The Pujari has it thus in his power to impose on his credulous hearers his own will and whim as those of the Bhuta.

Occupation

In former times the Betta Kurubas, besides working in rattan and bamboo, subsisted on a wasteful mode of cultivation called Kumri. It consisted of small plots of forest land or cleared jungle which after a couple of seasons was abandoned in favour of a new plot, which they had again to clear and where they cultivated various grains, especially ragi. They never touched a plough. All their work was done with the axe, bill-hook and hoe. The Forest Department restricted the scope of Kumri cultivation. The Kurubas have now acquired skill as bamboo or wood-cutters which has proved to be more remunerative. With the money thus obtained they have begun to lead a better life.

The Kurubas are also skilful in making good mats, baskets, umbrellas, boxes and cradles of bamboo and cane. Above all, they are lovers of personal freedom and independence, and are quite in their native element when roaming about on a hunting expedition. They are keen observers of Nature. When humoured by kind words, they give interesting anecdotes of jungle life and jungle products.

Food

The usual food for the Betta Kuruba consists of cultivated vegetables and what wholesome roots he may dig out in the jungle. The roots are a kind of sweet potatoes or yams. A welcome addition is some small game which he catches in his jungle trap. He drinks fermented juice, and smokes bhang and tobacco. It is said that the Kurubas of the Nilgiris and Mysore eat cow's flesh, but those in Coorṣ detest it. Earthenware vessels are used for cooking and drawing water from wells not used by the Holeyas.

Physical Features

The Betta Kurubas are dark in complexion, and have curly hair, which through neglect becomes matted. In stature they are middle-sized, well proportioned and in habits nimble and enduring. They have a long head, rather high and prominent cheek bones, a short flat nose, large lips, and dark deep-set eyes. Their average height is 153.7 cms. The average cephalic index is 74.5 and nasal index 75.4.

Conclusion

The Betta Kurubas are a good peaceable set of people, and when employed, industrious at their work as long as it pleases them.

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CHAPTER V

MALE KUDIA

THE Male Kudias are the toddy drawers of Coorǵ. Lieut.-Colonel Conner speaks of them as a savage tribe scattered throughout the Coorǵ forests. They have nothing in common with the inhabitants of the plains, as they are in a state of nature in their life of isolation. They are also found both in the plains and on the hills of South Canara. They numbered 549 in 1931, 270 being males and 279 females.

Habitations

The Male Kudias live on the Cardamom Hills of Coorǵ. Their huts are mere flimsy huts thatched with the leaves of the forest in their vicinity. The floor is raised to a height of one to two feet. A number of split bamboos, woven and arranged in a line and plastered with mud, serve as walls. They have no furniture of any kind and they mostly sleep on a slightly raised floor or on bamboo mats of their own make. Their domestic utensils consist of a few bamboo tubes, a few pots, and one or two copper pots, purchased from the neighbouring village market.

Internal Structure

The Male Kudias are composed of two endogamous groups, the Umale or Ur Kudias (village Kudias near the forests) and Temale Kudias (honey-gathering Kudias). Each group claims superiority over the other with neither interdining nor intermarriage. Their exogamous clans are mostly based on the names of hills which they inhabit or after their ancestors. In South Canara, on the other hand, each clan is headed by a Gurikara who is also called Malamudiya. His services are indispensable in all matters, social and religious.

The Umale Kudias avoid all conjugal relations between those connected on the father's or mother's side. Cross cousin marriage is in vogue among them.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

When a young man attains marriageable age, his parents look out for a suitable girl, and enter into preliminary negotiations for a settlement. The young man's party is treated to a dinner. The two parties then go to an astrologer to fix an auspicious date for the marriage and prepare a Maṅgala Kurippu to invite friends and relations on both sides. Girls are married after puberty. The bride's price is eight rupees,

Marriage booths are erected in front of the huts of both the parties before the marriage ceremony. They have also their ancestor-worship that day. On the following day, the bridegroom-elect bathes early, and, neatly dressed and adorned, is conducted in procession to the marriage booth where he is seated on a tripod, when his mother and other elderly women throw rice on his head and give him a few annas as a token of blessing. Then follow others. Some milk is also given to him at the time. His relations and friends make a present of a few annas. After feeding the assembled guests, the party of the bridegroom-elect goes in procession to the bride's hut with a basket of rice, betel leaves, arecanut, coconut, milk, jaggery and *hana*. They first sit near a place where the bride's party plants stumps of plantain trees. The bride's party welcomes the bridegroom's party to their hut after cutting the plantain stumps. When the party enters the booth, the bridegroom's legs are washed by a woman of the bride's party for which one of his party puts three annas into the vessel. The bridegroom is then given milk to drink and his party is served with light refreshments. Then the bride is seated on a tripod by his side. All those who are assembled there then throw some rice on them as a token of blessings and give them presents or coin. After this the bridegroom stands and gives a purse of coin to the bride, and clasping her hand, helps her to stand up. They are then allowed to sit in separate places. The assembled guests are then fed, after which they are given betel leaves and arecanuts. The bridegroom's party then returns to their family with the bride who is followed by two or three of her family. The bride's party also cuts the plantain stumps before entering the bridegroom's house. The feet of the bridal pair are then washed by a woman of the family for which she receives three annas. The married women of the bridegroom's family throw rice on the couple. The bride sits in a room and her party is treated to a feast. The guests then disperse. On the same night, the nuptials take place. The bride remains in the house of her husband on the following day; and on the third day, she returns to her family with her husband, where they stay for a few days. She then accompanies her husband to his house and leads a family life.

Puberty Customs

When a girl comes of age she is lodged in a separate hut. Her seclusion is for sixteen days. She bathes every day, and on the sixteenth day, pollution ceases with a bath. The temporary hut is destroyed on the sixteenth day.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

During the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy, the girl's parents visit their daughter with sweets and other eatables, stay there, and take her to their hut after a day or two. After delivery, the mother and baby

are bathed in warm water, the former is given a decoction of powdered cummin seeds, pepper and jiraka boiled in water. Rice with pepper water and onions is given her during the days of confinement. After a month, she is allowed to take meat. Pollution is for sixteen days, after which she is free from uncleanness. Naming, cradling and feeding the baby take place after the third or fourth month.

Tribal Organization

The tribesmen are few and far between in isolated huts over a large area. Consequently, there is no regular tribal organization as in other communities. All disputes are settled by a few elderly members of their community. Divorce is freely allowed.

Funeral Ceremonies

The elderly men and women are cremated. In such cases, ashes are collected on the following day and heaped beneath a tree. Their pollution is for sixteen days. On the last day, the chief mourners and the members of the family go to the cremation ground to feed the spirit of the dead. After a bath, they return home. The funeral feast also takes place on the same day, when the tribesmen are fed.

In South Canara, on the seventh day after cremation or burial a pandal is erected over the grave and a bleached cloth is spread on it by the washer-woman. A wick floating in a half coconut shell full of oil is then lighted and placed at each corner of the pandal. The relations of the deceased then gather round the place, weep and throw a handful of rice over the spot.

Religion

The Male Kudias worship the spirits of ancestors. They also worship all kinds of spirits and demons. They have their demon dances and bloody sacrifices in the dark recesses of the forests called 'Mala', 'Tirike,' or jungle shrine, their Bhutas being Thammayya and Malatampuran. Once a year they have a feast in honour of their ancestors, when they call out their names, and having killed a cock and cooked their food, they put some rice and curry and toddy upon plantain leaves in a separate place to be partaken by the spirits of the departed ancestors, whilst they enjoy themselves feeding on the rest. The prayer is to the following effect, "Lord Thammayya, once a year we offer to thee a fowl, a coconut, toddy and rice; keep sickness away from our people. Should any sickness befall our women or our children, we throw ourselves down before thee and make a vow. Dost thou remove the sickness?"

Occupation

The Umale Kudias work on cardamom and coffee estates, where they are engaged in weeding, planting and picking. Their wages vary from six to seven annas. During summer they are engaged in toddy-drawing from saḡo palm. The toddy thus drawn and collected is taken to the contractors and is exchanged for their other necessities. They sell toddy, carrying it in their bamboo tubes or the shells of a gourd or in earthen vessels to the villagers, who go to them with rice in a pot and return carrying toddy in it. They have to pay a certain sum for tapping the trees. They generally tap the bastard saḡo palm (*Caryota urens*). Their women climb the trees to remove the full vessels. They give toddy to children of even six months to drink. In the morning when fresh, it is sweet and refreshing; only in the afternoon when fermented does it become intoxicating.

Food

The Umale Kudias take their food three times a day in times of plenty. Early morning, they take raḡi cooked the previous night, and eat with some pickles. Rice and curry form their chief diet during the day and night. They eat the flesh of all animals which they hunt, and partake also of the food of Mussalmans, Christians and Holeyas.

Appearance and Dress

The members of the tribe wear loin-cloth, shirt, coat, and headgear. Their women dress like Coorḡ women. They wear ear ornaments, nose-ring, silver chain and bangles.

Conclusion

The Male Kudias still live in the jungle, but far away from villages. Both men and women imitate the Coorḡs in dress and also speak the Coorḡ dialect. They conform to the mode of life and social and religious customs of the Coorḡs who are their masters.

c. / II. TEMALE KUDIA

The Temale Kudias form a distinct endogamous group of Kudias by virtue of their occupation of honey-gathering. They are found in the hilly tracts of Baliyalathumala, Kelakochumala, Niddemala, Ponḡanmala, Kanadandimala and others. They live in huts made of bark and reeds, and their furniture and utensils are akin to those of the Umalakars.

Exogamy

The Temale Kudiya are exogamous. Their clans are named after the localities in which they live. A man marries outside his clan. Yelamalakkar, Yedapalikka, Sullika, Kemmadika, Ponḡanka are some of the clan names.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

A man marries the daughter of his maternal uncle or father's sister. When a young man attains the age of marriage, his parents look out for a suitable girl, and after preliminary negotiations they come to a settlement, and draw a manḡala kurippu for inviting friends and relations on both sides. Marriage booths are erected in front of the family huts of the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom's party come with ten seers of rice, coconuts and other articles, and halt at a distance from the bride's party, who meet them with refreshments after which they are taken to the bride's hut, where they are welcomed again with refreshments. After the usual formalities, the bridegroom and party return to his hut with the bride. Thereafter, they live as husband and wife. The essential portion of the ceremony consists in a formal promise to give the bride treatment leading to a happy conjugal life.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is located in a hut put up for the purpose. Her seclusion which was forty days is now reduced to sixteen days. On the bathing day, the girl is dressed and decorated in her best. The relations and friends assembled are then treated to a feast.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The customs among the Temale Kudiyas are the same as those among the Umale Kudias. The pollution for childbirth is sixteen days. The mother and baby are bathed every morning and evening. The naming, cradling and feeding ceremonies take place on the fortieth day.

Family

The family is matrilineal and inheritance is in the female line.

Tribal Organization

The Temale Kudias have their own tribal assembly to enquire into and decide all tribal matters. The delinquents are either fined or excommunicated.

Funeral Ceremonies

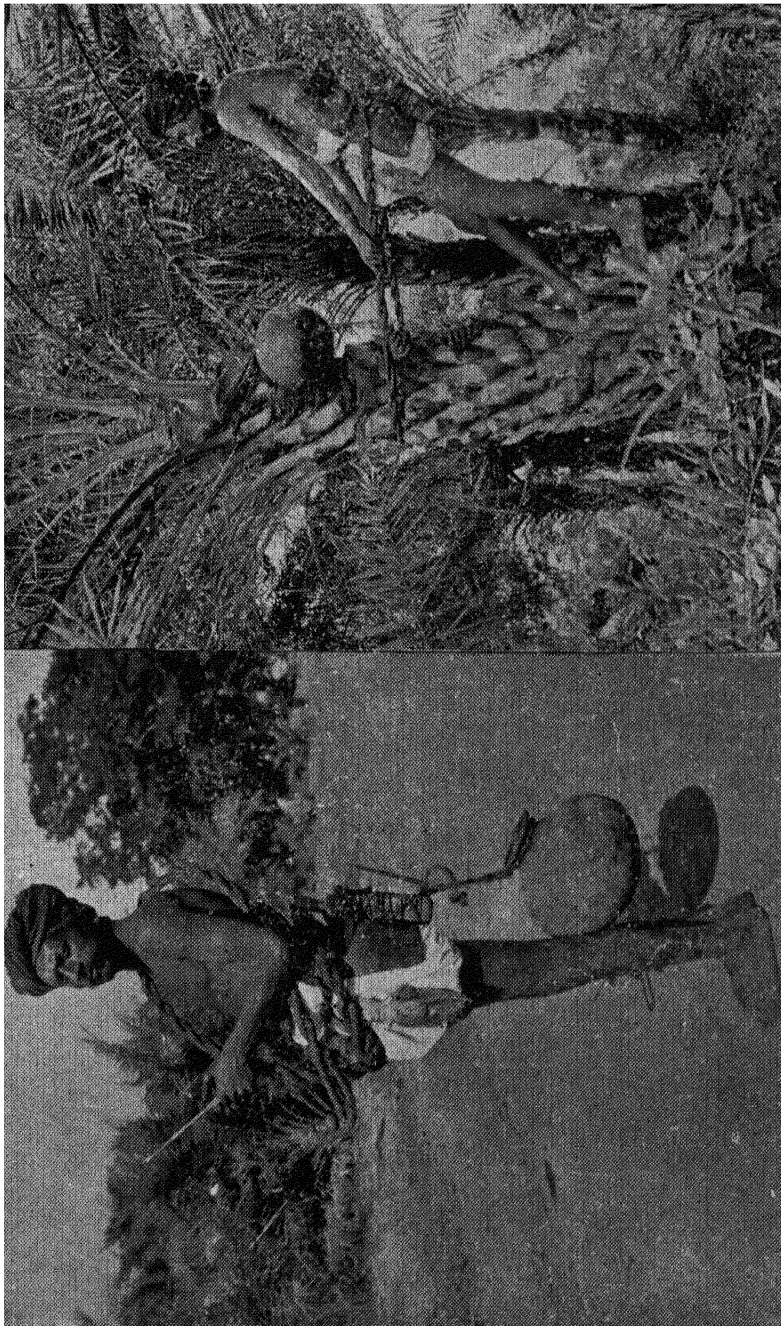
Both burial and cremation are current among them. Elderly members are cremated and the younger ones are buried. Pollution lasts for sixteen days, on the last day of which the agnates go to the cremation ground, feed the spirit of the dead, and return to the family after a bath. The tribal members assemble after invitation, each bringing five seers of rice and other articles. The relatives of the chief mourner also bring the same articles.

Religion

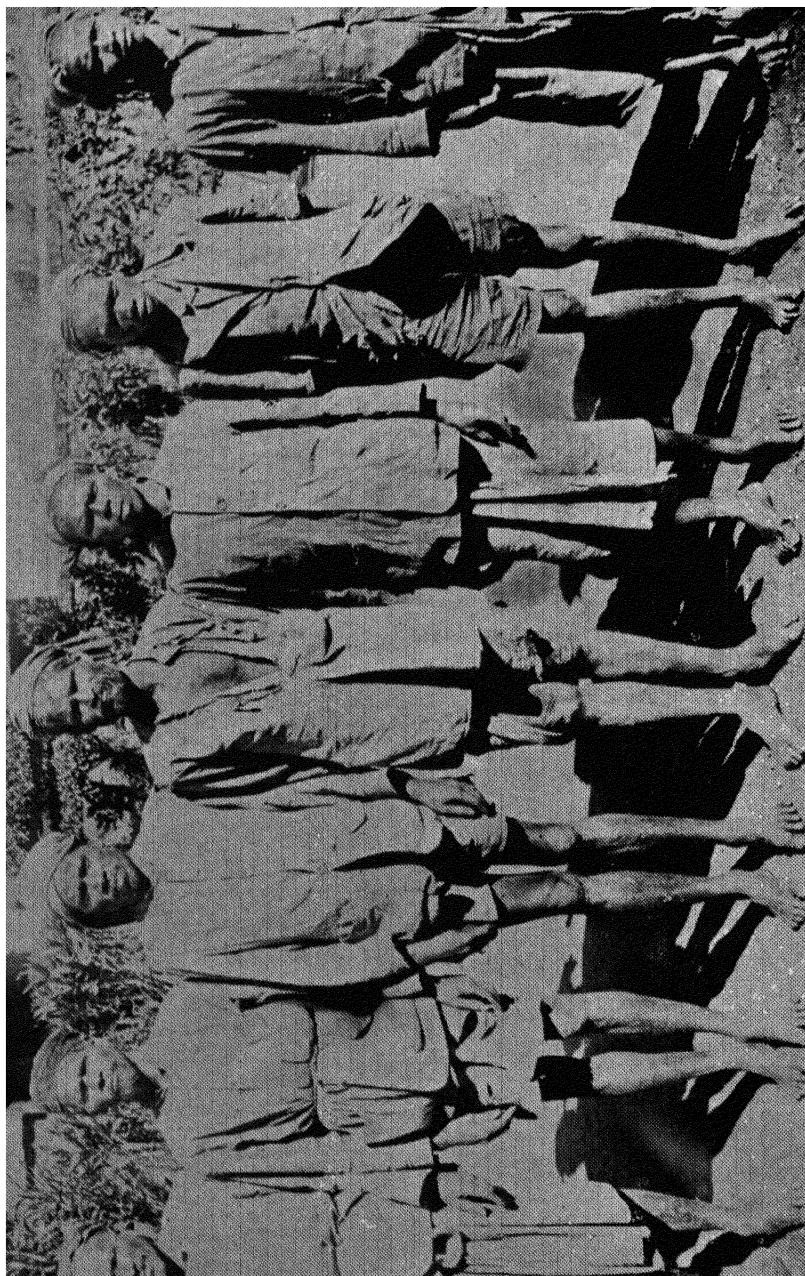
The Temale Kudias work in plantations and some pursue kumri cultivation, while others draw toddy. They sometimes hunt deer, sambur, and other wild animals of the forest. They collect minor forest produce. They tap the saḡo palm and sell toddy to the villagers in exchange for rice. They ḡo for honey-gathering. They are very skilful in this respect, like other denizens of the South Indian forests.

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Umale Kudiya in tapping outfit (left) and climbing a palm tree (right)



Kapla Men

CHAPTER VI

HOLEYA

THE Holeyas are the Adi-Dravidas of Coor̃. They go by different names in different Provinces and districts of the Madras Presidency. In Malabar, Cochin and Travancore they are known by the name of Pulaya. In Mysore and Coor̃ they are called Holeyas. In some of the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency they are known as Parayas. The name is derived from 'hola', a field; hence, a field labourer. It also means pollution, since they are regarded as of unclean habits in dressing, eating and drinking. They are supposed to be the descendants of Matañgi. Richter holds that the Parayas and Holeyas are identical, but in Malabar they are treated as different communities. In Coor̃ they are divided into two sections, the Edãgai and the Balãgai (the right hand and the left hand divisions) of the Dravida country. Their physical features, savage nature, and rude habits have been modified by modern civilization. They have been imbibing the customs and manners of the Coor̃s and Indian planters whose lands they have been cultivating from a remote period. They numbered 330 at the Census of 1931, 195 being males and 135 females.

Origin and Traditions

The Holeyas trace their origin to Honnaya who is still worshipped with offerings of fruits. Once when their leader was riding in a procession on an elephant the motley crowd that followed him entered into a temple on their way. The elephant could not enter the low portals of the building and Honnayya and his followers were left behind. Those that went in were the four recognised castes and Honnayya's men therefore lost the privilege of going inside the temples. The Holeyas even claim some sort of relationship with the Brahmans. Arundhati, wife of Vasista, is said to have been a damsel of Chandala origin. They still sing songs in praise of her, when they sacrifice buffaloes before their goddess Mari.

All authorities are agreed that the Holeyas have been the original inhabitants of India, but they were kept in a kind of praedial slavery by the Dravidians and the Aryans, the survivals of which exist even now in villages remote from towns. Regarding their origin, Dr. Keane says, "Judging by their short stature, thick lips, low forehead, and high cheek bones, they belong to the Negrito race, which once formed the substratum throughout the peninsula, though now submerged by the later arrivals of the Kolarians and Dravidians, and the Aryans." By others they are regarded as the descendants of the Dravidian immigrants. India has received an influx of population from other parts of the world and the black people are now

merged in later invaders. From traditions it would appear that they had at one time dominion over many parts of South India. Once upon a time, there lived one Aikkara Yajamanan, whose ancestors were Pulaya kings held in great respect by his tribesmen in North Travancore, and that the name still survives as a memento of their former greatness. Similar traditions are current among their tribesmen in Mysore, Coorġ and Canara. A few traces of their former greatness still linger. In the event of any land disputes between two persons, a Holeyā is called in. They enjoy a few other privileges. The term Halemakkalu (house servants or slaves) still attests to their low status under their cultivating castes, Ganġadikar, Morasu! Okkalu and Reddis. In all likelihood, the Holeyas were reduced to slavery by the Coorġs who constituted the aristocracy of Coorġ.

Praedial Slavery

Praedial slavery is an old institution in Coorġ; it existed more or less in an agrarian form, as it once existed on the West Coast in Canara, Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and Mysore. They are of two classes from 'honnu' (gold) and 'Mannal' (mann-earth), of which the former might, and the latter might not be transferred from the soil to which they were attached. The terms by which they were designated did not imply any notion of their servitude. Certain limits termed *mettu* were fixed, which the slaves might not pass without permission on pain of being considered a fugitive. When a slave ran away, he was brought back and punished.

The usual maintenance of the slaves in the malnad was one kolāġa of rice in the husk, equivalent to a *pakka* seer of rice for each man and five siddis for each woman per diem, which was doubled on the new and full moon days, and sometimes at the feasts. An annual supply of one kambli worth half a rupee to each man and woman, one dhoti or loin cloth worth half fanom to each man, and one panche or coarse cloth five cubits long and costing a rupee to each woman. On the occasion of marriage, the master of a man had to purchase a wife for him usually for three or four paġodas from her owner, unless, as was most commonly done, he could give the daughter of one of his slaves in return. The practice was called 'sattai' or barter. The expenses of the marriage were borne by the master of the husband and commonly amounted to six rupees and three khandāġa or 150 seers of rice; the children belonged to the owner of the man. When a slave with the permission of a master worked for another, he should supply him with food and clothing as above stated, and must besides pay an annual sum of half a British paġoda to the master; this was called "heġa badiġe" (shoulder hire). The ordinary price of a pair of slaves, man and woman, called "ġudi sarakku" (ġudi—A Holeyā's habitation, sarakku—goods or stocks of any kind) was 12 British paġodas and with a pair of bullocks they were supposed to be sufficient for cultivation of five khandāġa of land.

It was considered by Mr. Stokes that the Holeyas were much better off than their brethren of Malabar. They are generally stout and healthy in appearance and show no signs of being overworked or underworked, and are rapidly approximating to the status of a better class of agricultural labourers. The Ikkeri princes and the Coorǵ Rajas possessed a large number of slaves acquired by conquest or otherwise. Some of them were employed in the Palace gardens at Naǵar, and others keeping in repair the forests of Lakava Kaveldruǵ. They were all retained by Haider and his successors. The establishment is said to have been a source of much abuse, but the slaves considered its abolition more in the light of dismissal than emancipation.

Slavery has been abolished, but the custom dies hard in spite of the temptation of high wages offered to them by the planters. Many of the estate serfs or slaves still cling to the descendants of their ancestral masters, and do not care to leave their service so long as they are fairly treated according to the tradition of the tribe. They are still the chief field labourers and menial servants of the Coorǵs near whose houses they have their flimsy huts, and in places far remote from civilization. By money advances, food and clothing, the Holeyas have more cause to be grateful to the Coorǵs, to whom they still attach themselves.

Internal Structure

The Holeyas are composed of the following eight endogamous groups :

1. Kembatti Holeyā.
2. Kapla Holeyā.
3. Edaǵai Holeyā.
4. Martha Holeyā.
5. Malaya.
6. Adiya.
7. Maringǵi.
8. Balaǵai.

Of these, the Kembattis are the indigenous Pulayas and the Kaplas are later immigrants as labourers of coffee estates. The Maringǵis and Malayas are from Malabar and the Balaǵai from Mysore. The Maringǵis are so called because of their carrying an idol of Mariamman on their heads and exhibiting them in streets to solicit arms.

I. KEMBATTI PULAYA

The Kembattis have the following clans :

1. Padu Kutta Pada.
2. Chetta Kutta Appu.
3. Kadu Kutta Kalu.

4. Ponna Kutta Kalu.
5. Belli Kutta Ayya.
6. Kakke Kutta Kutta.
7. Kutta Kutta Kutta.
8. Chayaḡi Kutta Somu.
9. Chayi Kutta Kutta.
10. Kali Kutta Khuja.
11. Pachi Kutta Thenu.
12. Chenḡi Kutta Panju.
13. Ponda Kutta Baḡu.
14. Gadda Kutta Beli.

Members of the same clan do not intermarry. As a rule, sons and daughters of brothers and sisters do not enter into marital relations. Cross-cousin marriage is present among them.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

Among the Kembatti Holeyas, the young men have no voice in the choice of brides. It is their parents who select young women as wives. When a young Holey a attains the age of marriage, his parents look out for a suitable maid for him. After preliminary arrangements, the parents of the young man with his maternal uncle with a few elderly members of the community go to the house of the girl with a few coconuts, betel leaves, arecanuts, bananas and a ring. These are handed over to the girl's parents. The bride-price of fifteen annas and the ring are given to the maid. Betel leaves and arecanuts are distributed among friends and relations who are assembled there then. The auspicious day for the marriage is fixed, when *Manḡala Kurippu* is prepared and exchanged.

On the date previous to the day fixed for marriage, a leafy shed with seven poles is put up in front of the houses of the bride and bridegroom-elects. The centre pole is called Halikambu. The ancestral worship also takes place on that day. The relations and friends who are invited are treated to a feast. Early on the following morning, the bridegroom bathes and dresses himself in his best. He is conducted in procession from the bath room to the accompaniment of music and drum beating to the pandal. He is seated there on a tripod. The elderly married women throw some rice on him as a token of blessing, and give him some milk and present him with a few annas. The same formalities take place in the house of the bride-elect. The members of the community who assemble there are treated to a feast. The bridegroom's party with the Aruva, the bridal headman, go to the house of the bride-elect,

and halt on a field close by, when the bride's party meet them with some light refreshments which are given to them. They are conducted to the marriage booth, where they are welcomed and seated on mats spread on the floor covered with newly washed white cloth. The tripods are placed side by side to seat the bridal pair. Before entering the bride's hut, the bridegroom's legs are washed by a married woman of the bride's party for which she receives a *hana*. The married women and others throw rice on their heads and give them some milk and presents. The bridegroom grasps her hand and makes her stand. The bride's Aruva makes a solemn declaration, "I hand over our daughter in marriage as wife to your son. In the event of any misunderstanding between them at any time, I expect you to settle it and make her live in peace. We offer our girl dress, ornaments, and others." The Aruva of the bridegroom's party then declares that they accept her. The party assembled there are witnesses to the celebration with everything to the girl. The guests are all fed. The bridegroom returns to his family with his wife along with her party. The latter halts near his house or on a field where they are welcomed with refreshments. They are conducted to his house, where they are welcomed. The bride goes to the field with some manure to be left there. She is conducted to a well where *ganğa puja* is performed, and with a pot of water, she enters the house accompanied by her friends. The guests are treated to a feast, after which they disperse. On another auspicious day, she returns to her house with her husband to stay there for a few days, after which she accompanies her husband to his family. The Holeyas practise only adult marriage. Each marriage approximately costs fifty rupees.

In South Canara, the bridegroom's party goes to the bride's hut on a fixed day with rice, betel leaves, and a few arecanuts and waits the whole night outside the bride's hut, the bridegroom being seated on a mat specially made by the bride. The next morning, the bride sits opposite the bridegroom with a winnowing fan between them filled with betel leaves. Meanwhile, men and women present throw rice over the heads of the married couple. The bride then accompanies the bridegroom to his hut carrying the mat with her. The marriage ceremonies last for four days during which time the party should not fail to sit on the mat. On the last day, the couple take the mat to a river or tank where fish may be found, dip the mat into the water and catch some fish, which they may let go after kissing them. A feast completes the marriage.

Puberty Customs

When a girl attains puberty, she is under seclusion in a leafy hut for seven days. She is bathed every morning and evening. On the

eighth day, she is taken to a tank in the morning and bathed. The relations and friends who are invited are treated to a feast.

Pregnancy

When a girl is pregnant, her parents visit her on an auspicious day during the seventh month with sweets and other eatables as also a piece of cloth. She is bathed and seated on a tripod, when men assembled leave a few drops of oil over her head and each gives a few annas as present. The guests are sumptuously fed. Either on that day or some other auspicious date, her parents take her to their family.

Childbirth

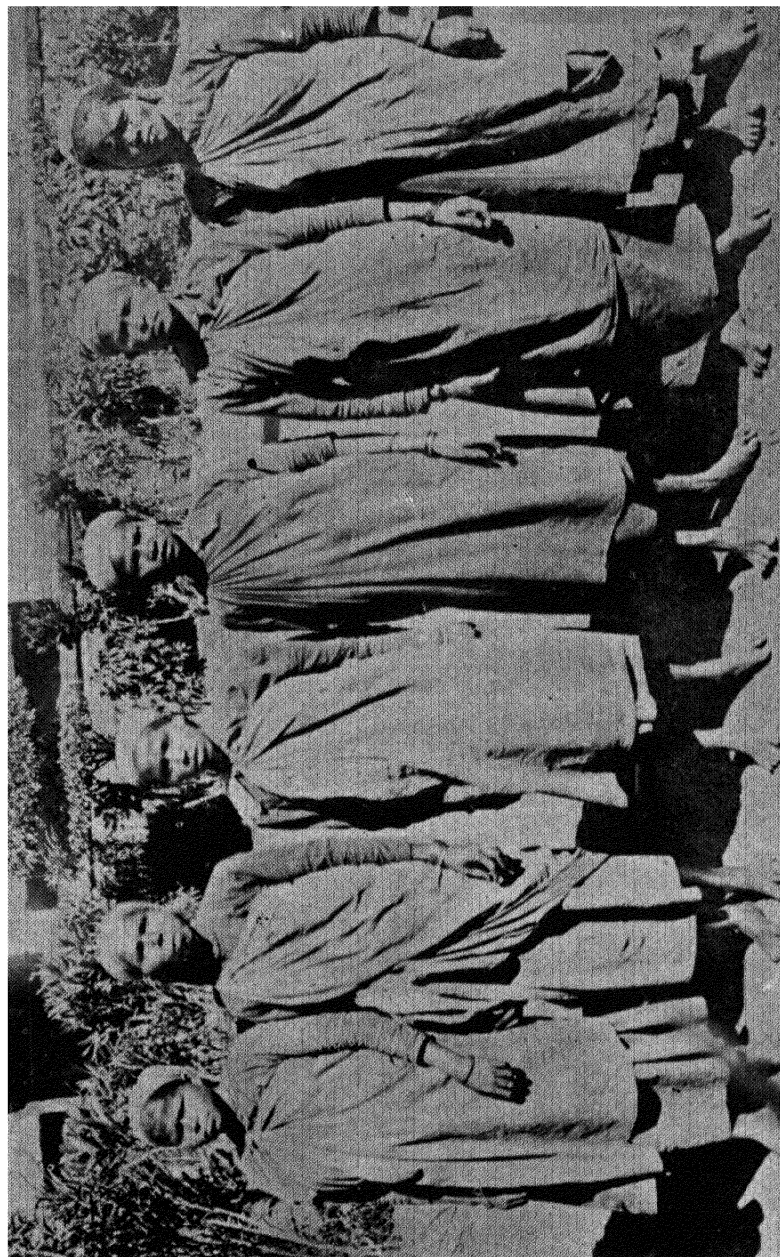
When a woman is about to become a mother, she is lodged in a temporary hut put up for the occasion. Soon after delivery, the mother and the baby are bathed. A decoction of *karinjirakam*, pepper, and cumin seed is given to the mother who is fed with rice kanji. During the days of confinement, she is subjected to a sparing diet. The period of pollution is for eleven days. On the twelfth day, the mother and baby are bathed, and they become free from pollution. Nevertheless, she is not allowed to enter the kitchen for sixty days. The naming, feeding and cradling ceremonies take place after sixty days.

Tribal Organization

The Kembatti Holeyas have their village headman, who with the aid of elderly members regulates all social practices. The headman either alone or with the help of the Panchayat settles all social disputes, and the delinquents are punished with fine or expulsion from caste. As long as a Holeyas submits to the orders of the headman, he is recognised as a member of the community.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are both buried and cremated. They bury the dead divested of clothing, but covered with plantain leaves. On the eleventh day after the death of a father, the sons have to give a feast to their friends, which like the wedding feast will run the poor fellows, who have nothing but the labour of their hands to offer, into debt and bind them for a long period to personal service. Like other Hindu castes, the Holeyas, in the case of a pregnant woman's death, separate the foetus from the mother by an incision into the abdomen and lay the bodies side by side into the grave. This is done by the barber or midwife on the burial ground. As a reason for this strange custom, which obtains also among the Coorgs, it has been said that its omission would bring misfortune on house and country, sickness and drought.



Kapla Women



A Kambatti Holey Hut

Religion

The Kembatti Holeyas are demon-worshippers. They adore Mariamman who receives offerings of goats and fowls. They believe that her vengeance is the cause of all maladies which flesh is heir to. They crouch to her shrine in great fear especially in times of smallpox, from which they suffer very much owing to their dirty habits. They try to satisfy her with pious reverence and other sacrifices of goats and fowls. At the festivities of the Coor̃s they act as clowns and merry-makers, playing low pranks, and have their dances and orgies at some distant groves. At the Huttari festival of the Coor̃s, a band of them disguised in rude costumes, of which ashes, straw and old mats form the chief materials, go their rounds from house to house; and accompanied by tom-tom, they perform a dance, and collect the customary gifts of money to be spent in arrack shops.

Food

The sanitary arrangements in diet and bodily cleanliness leave much to be desired. They eat what they can, without any scruples regarding cleanliness and are immoderately fond of the fermented juice of the wild sago palm, which is very common in Coor̃. They shun water and seldom wash or bathe.

Appearance, Dress and Ornaments

The Kembatti Holeyas are generally of middle size, robust and of dark complexion. They wear moustache and beard, but also shave. The women are developed and some have regular features and are good looking, a fact which may be accounted for by the barbarous practice of the Rajas, who, when severely punishing a Coor̃ house, exterminated all the men and reduced the women to slavery on the Sircar farms giving them to the Holeyas as their wives.

Occupation

Both men and women have a hard time during the working season, the former with ploughing, rice planting, harvesting and threshing, and working in the coffee, but not in the cardamom gardens. The latter carry manure to the fields, pound and clean rice. The Coor̃ Rajas utilised the services of the Canarese-speaking Holeyas from Mysore for cultivating their farms, to watch their crops and to guard houses round the royal residence in Mercara.

Social Status

The Kembatti Holeyas conform to the Coor̃s in most of their social and religious practices. In the presence of their masters they keep their proper distance, to which their low social position and filthy habits confine them.

II. MARINGI

The Maringis form another subdivision of the Holeyas. They are found in the villages of Devangiri, Pythadi, Kadanur and the Kavadi village of Ambattinad. They are so called because of their carrying an image of Mari on their heads, which they exhibit in the streets to solicit alms. They say that they are the original inhabitants of Coorġ and that their ancestors pursued the same occupation during the time of the Coorġ Rajas.

The Maringis are exogamous. Their clans are named after their houses. Pondi Kutta, Padu Kutta, Ambala Kutta, Kochu Kutta are some of the clans. Their marriage customs, puberty, pregnancy rites, religion and occupation are similar to those of the Kembattis.

III. PALEYA

The Paleyas are an endogamous group of Holeyas from whom they hardly differ in physical features. They live on the farms of the Coorġs along and inland of the north-western slopes of the Western Ghats. They work for them like other groups of Holeyas and wear only a small loin-cloth. Both men and women of the Tulu Paleyas wear skull caps made of tender sheaths of the arecanut flower. They are composed of five endogamous groups, the Maila, the Kari, the Aremane (Palace), the Bakuda (tree-climber) and Ajjala (demon possessors).

Marriage Customs

The Paleyas erect no pandal for the wedding. The ceremony is very simple. The bride is presented with a piece of cloth and money. On donning the cloth, she is considered married and goes to the bridegroom's house. Fraternal polyandry exists. The eldest brother marries first and his wife is common to the younger brothers. Widows remarry without ceremony.

Religion

The Ajjala Paleyas act as either devil dancers or officiate as priests on occasions of offering bloody sacrifices to their particular domons, Kalluti, Panchurli, Dumavatis and Gulika Bhuta, for whom they erect small shrines in some dusky groves. On such occasions, the Ajjala drinks toddy, puts on the mask of a demon, and works himself up into a delirious state when it is supposed that the spirit of some hero, boar or bison takes possession of him. He is kept in this frantic gesticular state by the crowd of men in mad excitement and by fierce noise of drums and horns. He is no longer himself but the mouthpiece of the demon, articulating mysterious, dubious and uncanny replies till at last the afflatus subsides and the performer sinks exhausted on the ground. In cases of sickness, they catch a fowl, wave it

round the head of the sick persons, and vow it as a sacrifice to the demon if the sick man recovers. They are in dread of the evil eye and observe the common good and bad omens.

IV. KAPLA

The Kaplas are found in Nalkanad and Napolkanad. They are said to be immigrants from Malabar, whither they still resort to make offerings at certain shrines at the Kolakali jatra. They are so called because of their fear of the demons at Beidamale, which led to their flight to the temple of Chola, Someswara, whose treasury guards or kavalkars they became. When Doddavira Raja built a palace at Kalkanad, he took the Kaplas to his service as his coolies, and afterwards gave them land to settle themselves, employing them as guards and occasionally as executioners. There are about 25 families in Nalkanad and Padinalkanad. They live in huts made of sticks and covered with the leaves of the jungle palm.

Internal Structure

The Kaplas are divided into a number of kudis or families, Bollada, Aranṅad and Kolkutti. They intermarry among themselves but outside the clan. They are said to be of the same origin as Bottuvas who are a secluded jungle tribe living in a savage state on the western slopes of the ghats within the Coorṅ frontiers.

The Kaplas resemble the other sub-divisions of the Holeyas in respect of marriage prohibitions, betrothal, marriage customs, pregnancy rites, tribal organization and funeral ceremonies.

The Kaplas are demon worshippers. The Aranṅad worship Parindra, Kolappa and Someswara; the Bollada worship Chole, Pomadi, and the Kolkutti worship Kariṅgali, Powadi and Chamundi. They perform puja twice a year to Beirava, Junḡalaya and Pulle Powadi at a shrine where Brahmans preside and offerings are made to the spirits of their ancestors. The Ajjala Paleyas perform the devil's dance and act as priests of the bloody sacrifice.

The Kaplas live by the spoils of the chase or on jungle produce. They seldom work for hire. They are adept at the use of the bow and arrow.

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CHAPTER VII

COORG

COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that "it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenja Daru period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalknad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorǵ families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains,

Habitation

The Coorǵ houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard saǵo, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorǵ house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction.

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorǵ women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main

door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah, and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen-dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the hole house, coating and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, the widows and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the roof and above the wooden ceiling, which is covered with a thick layer of earth to keep the rooms below dry and fireproof, serves for storing bags of rice, baskets, pots and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes, and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

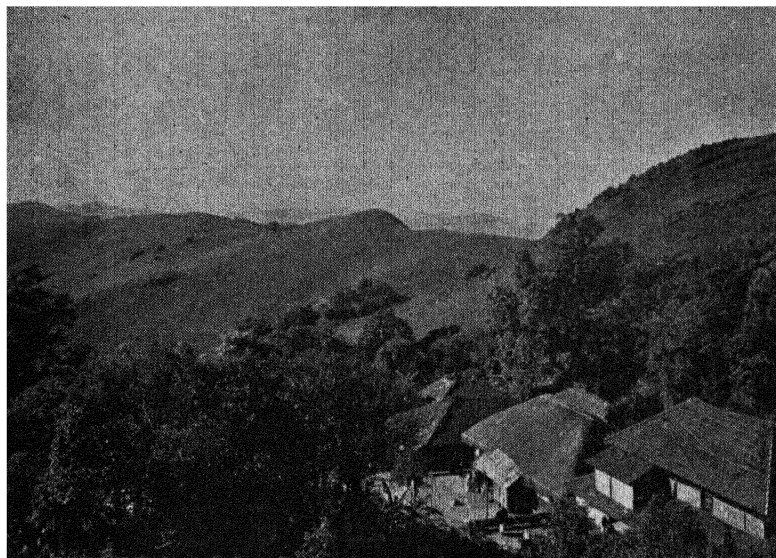
The simplicity of the habits of the Coorḡs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used, with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses and cushions, sheets, and blankets; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep their brass vessels, plates and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their clothing and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one corner of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorḡs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements in the European style.

Internal Structure

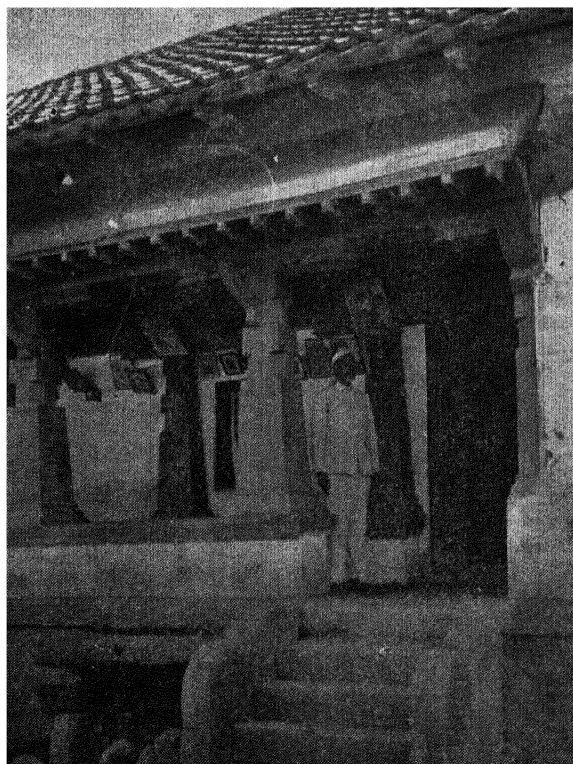
The Coorḡs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna' Malla and Boddu Coorḡs. The Amma and Sanna Coorḡs are found in all parts of Coorḡ. The Malla and Sanna Coorḡs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorḡs.

Exogamy

The Coorḡ clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.



A View of a Coorg House and its sylvan environment



A Front View of a Coorg House



A Coorg Male Group



A Coorg Married Couple

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The marriage customs of the Coorgs are a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage customs had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village, comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses, for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear ear-rings, and the maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or the senior members of the family, who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are :

- (i) The descendants of the father's side of the same family name.
- (ii) The descendants of the mother's sisters.
- (iii) Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the young man or his elder brother with the Aruva goes to the house of the young woman, where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. If the bridegroom dies before consummation of the marriage, the bride becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer, and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to friendly neighbours of other castes, or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m. the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard and served with pansupari to assist the flow of village

gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians. Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, he is dressed in his new kuppasam (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist and his friends fasten into it the new pichathi, a present from his father, together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of her friends.

In the bridegroom's house the wedding party proceed to the kaymada, carrying a light which had been kindled at the sacred house lamp, and ignite an earthen lamp there and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, and the younger men follow and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house, and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness and placed upon a carpet between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well; and prosper well by God's favour", gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because they are unlucky.

The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion. Various kinds of liquor are served. During and after feasting, the music makes a discordant and deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house, which is generally some miles away. On such occasions a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted. When he has advanced

within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor, and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of pansupari are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her pattakku or necklace, and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand and leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed to a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, "Has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice, and as a typical pledge of possession, like the 'gatti jamma fee' on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family

three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field, and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised.

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart. It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen.

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon

have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorġs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorġ custom.

Widow Marriage

Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorġ women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorǵ woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement.

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorǵ boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorǵ women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised.

Family

The Coorǵ family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorǵ family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not

generally well guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coor̄s consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *jamma bhumī* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house, and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *saḡu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such *saḡu* land to be converted into *jamma* land. Other land held as *jaḡir* was granted for certain Government service as *umbli* land on a light assessment. During the last thirty years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Government land, or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the Coor̄s consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on the exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and unexpected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly, all the members of a Coor̄ house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the *yajamana* or *korakara*, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now setting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

The right of adoption is given to every Coor̄ house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex.

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as the moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance of public feasts, and improper conduct during the same, as for example, drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of ten rupees. In the event of refusal to pay the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcaste Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and increasing knowledge of the law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to charged conditions, and do not venture on any excommunication.

Funeral Ceremonies

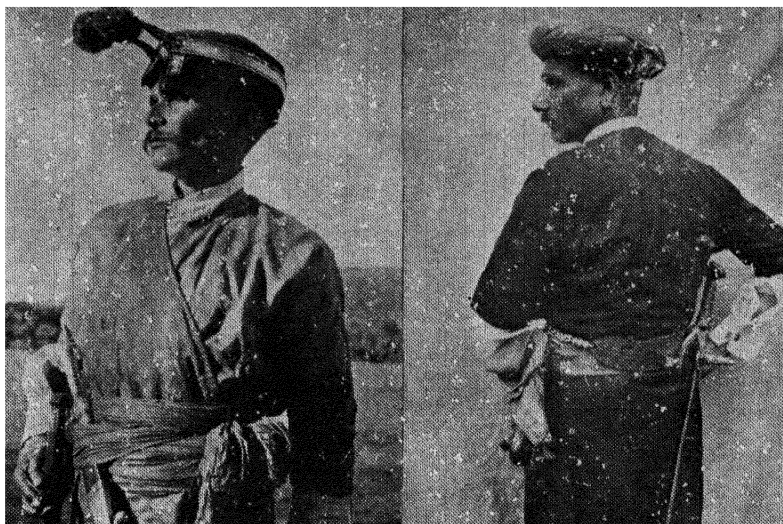
The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried in the village burial ground, and children in some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little coconut milk, saffron, rice

and well water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money in it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of a husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a coconut, brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the coconut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water pot fall sideways from her shoulder to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning the relatives remove her garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles, nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

On the twenty-eighth day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and give the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

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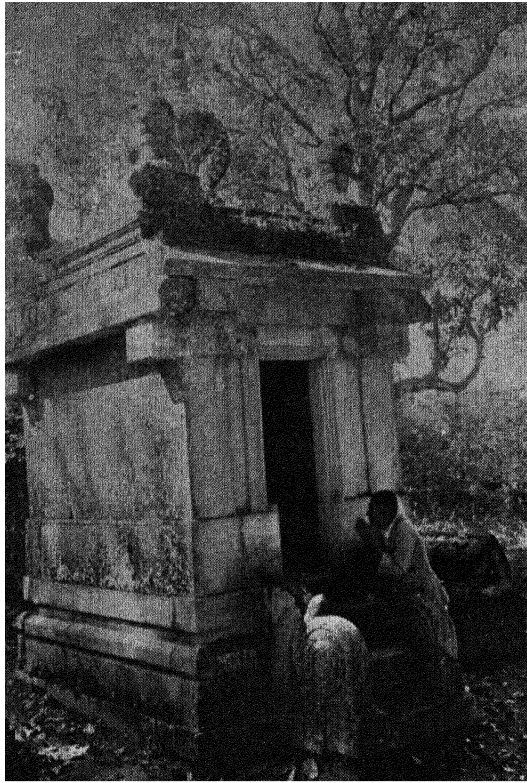
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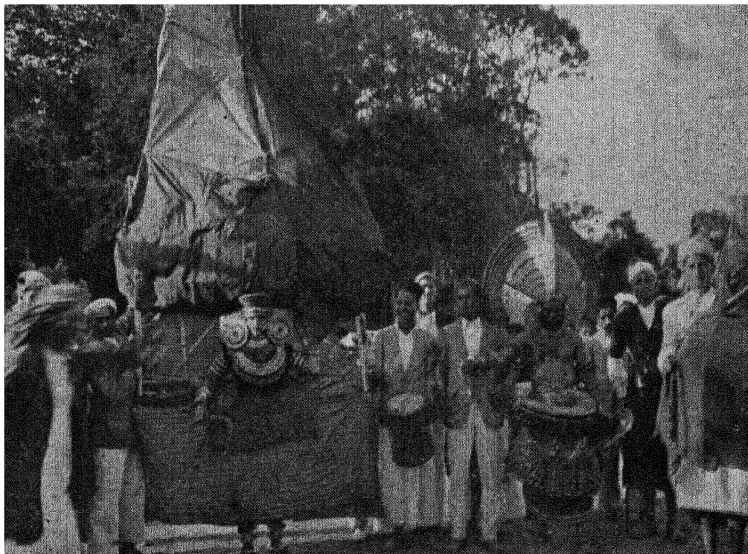
Coorgs in National Costume



A Village Takka (headman)



A Coorǵ Temple (Kaymada)



A Ghost Mask (Karnakola)

CHAPTER IX

COORG (Contd.)

THE worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali Canarese, Brahmanical and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their Pujaris. The worship of Mariamman (the smallpox demon) was introduced by the Mysoreans. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva and Subrahmanya and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg.

Ancestor-Worship

The ancestor-worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a *Kaimatta* (a building close at hand) under a tree in the fields or in the yard close to the house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stone representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowl and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to hand over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called *Karana*, and a female one *Sodalachi* or *Karanchi*.

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause trouble, and female even more so. The Sodalachis are ever inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house. In fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month, a fowl or two are offered at the *Kaimatta* to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink and neighbours are allowed to come in and put questions to the possessor. These gifts are called *Karana Barana*.

The Coor̃s perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (*karanakola*) with the object of finding out the particular wishes of the ghosts. It is performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, are requisitioned. At night he puts on, one after the other, five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companions and behaves as if he were possessed by the Coor̃ ghosts. After each kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a coconut, fried rice and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called *Karana Barani*. The masks having been finished, a pin especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the *Kaimatta* and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a *Kaimatta*, the pig offering takes place at the *Karanakotta*. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Sometimes sorcerers, Coor̃s or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitations of certain formulae in loud tones, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Dur̃ga, and Bhadrakali, who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coor̃s, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggatnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the *Kadevaru*, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devarukadu, which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coor̃. The *Natas* or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are the place of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure.

During the month of November, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas, and coconuts are offered as oblations.

Pilgrimage

The Coorǵs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March, and on the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorǵs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorǵ in December, Baitur in Malabar, in February, and Nanjangudu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

Demon Worship

The Coorǵs are demon worshippers because of the evil influences of certain malignant spirits, which can render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house, and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a *Kanya* (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some *Kuli* who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta, or at any other place once in two or three years.

The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house owner. Demon masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon mark is the decapitation of pigs in front of the so called *kuzhikota* or demon abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for house affair, but several pigs are required when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

Festivals: (1) Huttari

The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be derived from the Malayalam 'pudiyari', or new rice. It occurs at full moon at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the house, the people shouting. "Poli, poli, Deva", that is, "Increase, increase, O God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorǵ brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends every day with the peculiar cane dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous sound of horns, drums and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

(2) Kaylmurtha

The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorǵ sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and dales, forests and fields in Coorǵ, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to burnish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal paste is dotted on them in profusion, and a show offering, *Nivedya*, is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorǵs.

and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment.

(3) Bhagavathi Feast

The Bhagavathi feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmins. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions, and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmins, Coorgs and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport themselves in their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmins who are an object of dread to the Coorgs.

(4) Devasthana

The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roof within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs.

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CHAPTER X

COORG (Contd.)

THE principal occupation of the Coor̃s is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families with numerous dependents. Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged. Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coor̃ views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation. The industry of the people of the Highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, *Tali-akki-baleke* (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions, is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble and invoke the blessings of their ancestors and Kaveri Amma. The young men make obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers coconuts and plantains, rice and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when he takes a clod to the granary, and offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. From 6 to 10 in the morning the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times. Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water.

Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August. The women covered with gorakas, which rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles which are collected in one spot. Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes as soft as treacle. All the members of the family standing in a line knee deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting. The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight

seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches. Before the completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left throughout the whole length. This is the Coorg race-ground, offering good sport which greatly enlivens their monotonous work. From the men engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land. Wearing a pair of short drawers they are eager for the run for which their strong legs qualify them. The signal is given and away they scramble, plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate persons who sink in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the same way struggling to the winning post. Four or five only win the race. The first-comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains, the third with a jack-fruit, the fourth with a bunch of oranges, and the fifth with parched rice. When all the fields are planted, a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about six feet long are erected in a line through the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments. The weeding is then attended to and failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and December the paddy ripens, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days it is bound into sheaves, carried home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moonlit nights, the sheaves are taken to the threshing floor, spread round a stone pillar in the middle, and trod out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for seed and the rest stored for consumption or sale.

Cardamom Cultivation

The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to that of rice, and a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet was regarded as a great asset. Cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its growth. This is obtained by the felling of trees which let in light. February or March is the time for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered. A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big

tree is needed to reinvigorate them. In the time of the Coorǵ Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

Coffee Cultivation

The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorǵ. It was first introduced by the Moplas, and the Coorǵs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which has since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to renewed interest in rice cultivation.

Fruit Cultivation

Of fruit trees, plantains and oranges are common all over Coorǵ. Coorǵ oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because the rind of the ripe fruit is almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruit are abundant.

Honey and Wax

Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorǵs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among rocks. But the Coorǵs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hive, while other swarms belong to the finder. The hives are made in hollowed logs loosely fitting in set ends. They are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from animals. To obtain the honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the comb is then fried out and all the comb is then removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with beeswax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees are gathered and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

Hunting and Fishing

The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and still keep up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow and arrow, or the sling. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odikathi*, is a most formidable weapon in a hand-to-hand fight. The bulk of them hunt partly for sport, and partly to supplement their vegetable diet. Pigs are coursed with dogs, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are short, heavy, and broad in the blade, or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go hunting in a party, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it.

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thaduvala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many fish are caught by hand. They use also another net known as *beesvala* by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits.

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials. They eat pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m. kanji is again taken, and in the evening a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments. Toddy tapped from the bastard sago palm, arrack and a kind of beer made of fermented rice, brandy are the usual beverages. Of late European liquors have become common beverages at festivities.

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorg women deserve much for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen, and do all kinds of work. They bear the

brunt of the labour on the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds and clean the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossiping. Some are expert tailors. Others with gun on shoulder wander through the jungle in search of game.

The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is by both sexes alike and is very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house, and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist knife (*odikathi*) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the kukri of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand-to-hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions, as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is a red kerchief or the beauti-

ful fashioned turban, rather flat and large at top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own.

The women are more conservative in their dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knotted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of the ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls, or gold, from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or rings set with precious stones, and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair ornaments, *chourigubbi* are worn. Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work, with which they adorn their white kerchief and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress.

Martial Spirit

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Conner, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises from this happy combination of soldier and husbandman. They show no trace of the savage disposition which often characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country which distinguishes subjects of small States are observed among the Coorgs.

Physical and Mental Characters

The Coorǵs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in encounters with their enemies. Military officers have commended their fitness for the formation of regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong limbed, and swift footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected in this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well trimmed moustache. According to Holland, the Coorǵ is taller than the Yerava, has a finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorǵ and the very dark skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorǵs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic and nasal indices are given below :

	Stature		Cephalic Index		Nasal Index	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Max.	184.5	166.0	90.7	93.2	100.0	74.0
Min.	149.1	131.5	66.5	70.9	46.3	50.9
Avǵ.	167.1	151.2	80.6	82.9	65.2	60.3

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorǵs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with people of lower cultures. The march of civilization during the last 50 years has brought considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorǵ students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

Language

Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodaǵu and other Dravidian languages ; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered a more local dialect.

Conclusion

The Coorǵs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males and 20,274 females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion.

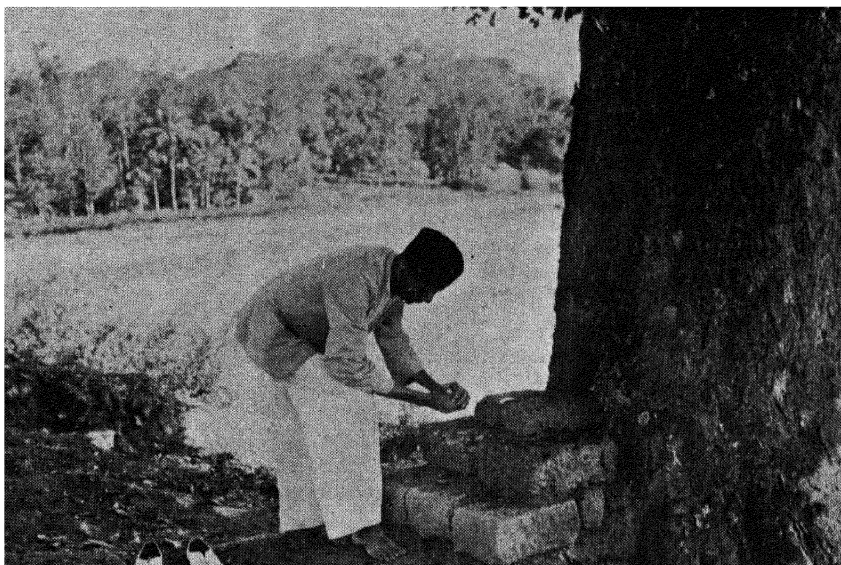
CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

THE Amma Coorḡs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorḡ. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodaḡa, which would naturally signify Coorḡs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Aḡastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmaḡiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Aḡastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodaḡas and six of Coorḡs. The former sided with Aḡastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodaḡas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorḡs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Aḡastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorḡs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorḡs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorḡs shall increase, but the Amma Coorḡs decrease, the Coorḡ women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Aḡastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turning to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorḡs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrara built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorḡs, but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an ancient priesthood.

The Amma Coorḡs observe in common with the Coorḡs the great festivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorḡs and at the same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the



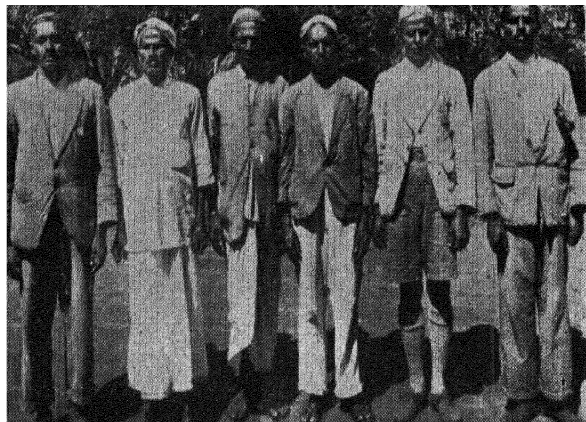
Tree Worship



Huttari Festival



A typical Coorǵ in his smart attire



Amma Coorǵ Male Group



An Amma Coorǵ House

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviṅga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodaṅgas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorṅ belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorṅs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorṅs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorṅs do not intermarry with the Coorṅs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *paniṅgrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorṅs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorṅs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that *ganṅa puja* is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

Disposal of the Dead

The Amma Coor̄s used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

The Amma Coor̄s are agriculturists. They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

The Amma Coor̄s follow the Coor̄s in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coor̄s in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra*. This may eventually hasten their extinction.

CHAPTER XII

BANT

THE Bants (Bunts) are a sect peculiar to Tulluva and form the principal body of cultivators or landlords. In Tulu, the word *Bant* signifies a powerful man, a soldier. They formed a military class like the Nayars of Malabar. With the end of the first world war, they have become a land-owning and cultivating class. Barring the Billavas or toddy drawers, they are the most numerous community in South Canara. Most of them are Hindus, but a thousand of them are Jains. In Coorǵ, they numbered 1,369 at the Census of 1931, 872 being males and 497 females. In spite of their adherence to Hinduism or Jainism, all continue to follow the demon worship of the early Dravidians, much of which is absorbed in Hinduism.

Origin

The origin and early history of the Bants is veiled in obscurity. During the early centuries of the Christian era, the Tulluvans must have had kings, who were sometimes independent, sometimes feudatories or overlords, such as the Pallavas, the early Kadambas, the Western Chalukyas, the Kalchurins, and the Hoyasala Vettalas. This points to frequent opportunities for fighting, which would account for an important class of the population being called Bant or warrior. In fact they became the owners of land which did not fall to the share of the priestly class. Ancient inscriptions speak of Tulluva kings whose inscription found at Kalasa date from as early as the 12th century, and who may have exercised power throughout Tuluva or the greater part of it. When the Vijayanaṅgar dynasty became supreme in Canara in 1336, there were then a number of chiefs among the Bants who were powerful. The numerous titles prevailing among the Bants and Jains and the local dignities known as *pattom* and *ḡadi* point to the existence of a number of more or less powerful local chieftains. The system peculiar to the west coast under which property vests in females and is managed by the seniors of the family was also favourable to the continuance of landed properties.

Internal Structure

The Bants have exogamous sub-divisions :

1. Nasadika Bants who are ordinary Bants.
2. Nadava or Nad Bants who speak Canarese.
3. Parivadra Bants who do not follow the matriarchal form of inheritance.
4. The Jain Bants.

Marriage is generally confined within the group. Instances of inter-marriages between Nasadika and Nad Bants have recently occurred. There are twenty exogamous clans corresponding to Brahman gotras except that they are traced in the female line. Children belong to the clan of the mother. A man cannot marry his father's brother's daughter though she belongs to a different clan.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Bants appear to be more advanced than the Nayars. The *talikettu kalyanam* which once prevailed among the latter is unknown among the Bants. A wife leaves her house after age and resides with her husband, unless she occupies a senior position to manage the affairs of her family. Infant marriage is not prohibited, though marriage is generally adult.

There are two forms of marriage. One is known as *Kaidari* which is performed between bachelors and virgins, and the other *Budhare*, between widows and widowers. After the match is decided, the formal betrothal called *Ponnathiru* takes place. The bridegroom's friends and relations proceed in a body to the bride's house and are entertained at a grand dinner to which the bride's relatives are bidden. Subsequently the *Karnavans* of the two families formally engage to perform the marriage, and plates of betel and nut are partaken of by both parties.

The actual marriage ceremony is performed in the house of the bride or bridegroom as may be convenient. The proceedings begin with the bridegroom seating himself in the pandal. He is then shaved by the village barber. He then retires and bathes. This done, both he and the bride are conducted to the pandal by their relations or sometimes by the village headman. They walk three times round the seat and then sit down side by side. The essential and binding part of the ceremony called *dhare* then takes place. The right hand of the bride being placed on the right hand of the bridegroom, a silver vessel which is filled with water with a coconut over the mouth and the flower of an areca palm on the coconut is placed on the joined hands. The parents of the two families, and the village headman, touch the vessel, which with the hands of the bridal pair is moved up and down three times. In some families, the water is poured from the vessel into the united hands of the couple, and this betokens the gift of the bride. It still survives in the marriage ceremonies of various castes, and the name of the Bant ceremony shows that it must have been universal among them. The conjugal pair receive the congratulations of the guests who express a wish that the happy couple may become the parents of twelve sons and twelve daughters. An empty plate and another containing rice are next placed before the pair, and their friends sprinkle rice from the one and place a gift of four annas generally in the other. The bridegroom makes a

gift to the bride. This is called *tirtochi*, and varies in amount with the position of the parties. This must be returned to the husband if the wife leaves him, or if she is divorced for misconduct. The bride is taken back to her home. A few days later, she is again taken to the bridegroom's house and she must serve her husband with food. He makes another money present to her, and after that the marriage is consummated.

Widow Marriage

Widows are allowed to remarry with much less formality. The ceremony consists simply of joining the hands of the couple. Although all widows are allowed to remarry, only the young do so.

Inheritance

Inheritance is in the female line among all but the *Pariwar Bants* and a few Jains. It is a relic of bygone days when the military followers of conquering invaders or local chiefs married women of the landowning classes and the most important male members of the family were usually absent in camp or in court, when the women remained in the family house on the estate and managed the farms. The titles and pattoms were always held by the male members. But as they go with the landed property, they devolve on the sister's son of the deceased holder, whence has arisen the name *Aliyasantan* which means sister's lineage. This line of descent is not chosen because the real father is equivocal, but it would appear to be in consonance with immemorial custom, and the usage presents a striking example of the potent influence of manners and prejudice over opinion and feelings.

The Bants burn their dead. The funeral pile consists of mango wood as among the Nayars. The ceremonies take place on the ninth day, when people are fed in large numbers. Once a year, generally in October, the ancestor spirits are propitiated. The ceremony is called *Ajila*.

The Bants do not object to the use of animal food except cow's flesh but the headman of the family among the *Bellalas* abstains from flesh eating. They have no intermarriage with the ordinary Bants. The Jain Bants are pure vegetarians and they abstain from alcoholic liquors, the consumption of which is permitted among the Bants. All take three meals a day, a little *kanji* in the morning, dinner at noon, and supper at night.

The Bants are fond of outdoor sports. Football and buffalo racing are among their favourite amusements, but the most popular of all is cock-fighting. Every Bant who is not a Jain takes an interest in cock-fighting and large assemblages of cocks are found at every festival throughout South Canara.

The Bants are a fine stalwart race with sturdy independence of manners and the fair complexion common on the west coast. According to Logan, both men and women are amongst the comeliest of the Asiatic races, having high foreheads and well turned aquiline noses. Their mean cephalic index is 78 and nasal index 72.2.

Conclusion

The Bants are industrious, well-to-do ryots who also engage in various trading speculations and learned professions. They are of simple manners, and are diligent and persevering. They are agriculturists. They have not till recently availed themselves of the benefits of Western culture and very few are in Government service. They consider themselves superior to the Coorgs, with whom they have no social service.

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CHAPTER XIII

GAUDA

THE Gaudas form a large caste of Canarese cultivators. They are called Tulu Gaudas and are chiefly from the Tulu community. They are largely found in Padinalkanad and Yedanalknad taluks, especially along the Coorġ-Canara boundary. They numbered 14,016 at the Census of 1931, 7,388 being males and 6,628 being females.

Internal Structure

The Gaudas belong to 18 *balis* or clans. Banġara, Nandara, Malaru, Salu, Hemmana, Kabru, and Gali are some of the clans. Members of the same clan cannot intermarry.

Marriage Customs

Marriage is generally adult. The *dhare* form of marriage is adopted, but the bridal pair hold in their joint hands five betel leaves, one arecanut, and four annas, and after the water has been poured, the bridegroom ties the tali to the neck of the bride. Divorce is freely allowed.

Widow Marriage

Widows are allowed to remarry. One with children must marry only her husband's elder brother. If she marries anyone else, the members of her former husband's family will not drink water touched by her.

Social Organization

The Gaudas have an elaborate social organization. In every village there are two headmen, the *Grama Gauda* and the *Gottu Gauda*. To every eight or nine villages, there is another head called *Kattumanne Yava*. It is their duty to settle all trade disputes and punish the delinquents with fine or excommunication.

Funeral Ceremonies

The dead are generally cremated. On the third day, the ashes are collected and made into the form of a man, cut into two, buried, and a mound made over it. In the house two planks are placed and covered with a cloth. On one is placed a vessel containing milk, and on the other a lamp, coconut, rice, and pumpkin. The agnates and some boys go round the planks thrice and then go to the mound taking with them various articles in a piece of cloth. Three plantain leaves are placed in front of the mound and cooked food is placed on

them. Four posts are set up round the mound and clothes spread over them and placed round the sides. On the 16th day, 16 leaves are laid in a row and one leaf is laid apart. Cakes, cooked fowl's flesh, toddy, and arrack are placed on the leaf in leafy cups. The assembled agnates then say, "We have done everything as we should do, and so our ancestors who have died before must take the man who is now dead."

Religion

The Gaudas offer worship to Venkataramana Swami to whom they make offerings once a year in September. They employ Brahmans to give them sanctified water and *prasadam* to be free from pollution. Once a year, in June or July, they perform a ceremony for ancestor worship.

Occupation

The Gaudas are mostly farmers and a few are day labourers. The latter receive two to four seers of paddy as wages.

Social Status

The Gaudas wear the Coorḡ dress, and those in North Coorḡ are most anxious to pass off as Coorḡs and affect their customs. The Coorḡs are reluctant to admit them into their community and look down upon them as their inferiors.

HEGGADE

The Heggades are immigrant cultivators from Malabar. They are found all over the province, but especially in Yedanalkanad and Padinalkanad. Like the Gaudas they conform to Coorḡ customs, but they are excluded from the Coorḡs in whose presence they are allowed to sit only on the floor, while the former sit on a chair. They must keep some distance from the Coorḡs while mixing with them on festive occasions. They eat food prepared by the Coorḡs.

LINGAYAT

The Lingayats are found above the Ghats in Coorḡ. They numbered 5,068 in 1931. The Coorḡ Rajas belonged to this sect. They are either cultivators or merchants and are more distinguished for shrewdness and activity in the latter than perseverance or industry in the former. They are strict Saivites and they abstain from animal food and intoxicating liquors. They bury their dead. They talk Kannada and style themselves Sivachar.

VOKKALIGA

The Vokkaligas are the proprietary agriculturists of Coorḡ. The ancestors of this sect were brought from the Naḡar frontier of Mysore by Dodda Vira Raje Wira, who granted them lands for cultivation at a low rent. Fifty families are supposed to have composed the body of immigrants. The term Vokkaliga means one who belongs to the same class as the cultivators of ryots, who in South India are the dominant class, but go by different names in different countries. They numbered 7,948 in 1931, 4,233 being males and 3,715 females.

In their mode of life and dress they conform to the Coorḡs, who neither eat nor intermarry with them. They adopted the religion of the Coorḡs and worshipped Kaveri Amman. As the Coorḡs refused to admit them into their families, they reverted to their original Guru at Talkad in Mysore and now consider themselves superior to the Coorḡs. They speak the Coorḡ language.

BRAHMAN

The climate of Coorḡ is not conducive to the growth of the Brahman population. They thrive neither physically, nor socially, in spite of their intellectual superiority. Their mental equipment has little scope for exertion, as most of the appointments are filled by the indigenes.

No Brahman is a native of Coorḡ. Brahmans did not find favour with the Coorḡ Rajas, but they appear to prosper under British rule. Left to the Coorḡs themselves, they would have disappeared, as Coorḡ customs and religious practices have nothing in common with Brahmanism. They numbered 1,407 in 1931, 760 being males and 647 females. The Canarese Brahmans are the largest in number.

The Brahmans are in large demand in Kiggatnad taluk. They are required for purifying a house at the birth of a Coorḡ child by sprinkling holy water. At a Coorḡ wedding, they offer *prasada* and utter a blessing for which they receive a gift of money. They are sent for to implore the deity in case of illness.

The Brahmans who are domiciled in Coorḡ have succeeded in introducing Mahadeva and Sulramania (Iguttappa), in entirely Brahmanising the worship of the Kaveri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading puranic tales, and in usurping to some extent the puja at the places of worship.

MAPILA

The Mapilas are chiefly found in Yedanalkanad and Padinalkanad taluks. They are the descendants of intermarriage between foreign traders, Arabs and Persians, and women of the Malabar coast. The same name has been given to the children of those who were converted to Islam during the time of Tippu Sultan. Some were admitted as Jamma ryots by the Coorg Rajas. They numbered 8,804 at the Census of 1931, 6,051 being males and 2,753 females.

E N D

